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No.36

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1914-1915 MEDALS

PANZER UNIFORMS



ISSN 0268-8328



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Our cover illustration is a portrait of an officer of a Royal Regiment, c.1760, attrib. Tilly Kettle — see article p.22 (National Army Museum)

Published monthly by
MILITARY ILLUSTRATED LTD.

Accounts:
43 Museum Street, London WC1A 1LY
(tel: 071-404-0304)

Editorial:
5 Gerrard Street, London W1V 7LJ
(tel: 071-287-4570)

Advertising:
Raven Marketing Group,
Cromwell Court, New Road,
St Ives, Cambs. PE174BG
(tel: 0480-496130)

Typesetting:
PRS Ltd
53a High Street Huntingdon
Cambs PE18 6AQ (tel: 0480 414347)

Printed by:
Surrey Fine Art Press Ltd.
70 Sheen Rd., Richmond,
Surrey TW9 1UF

Editor:
MARTIN WINDROW
Editorial design by
Kate Hardie

UK newsagent distribution:
United Magazines Distribution Ltd.
1 Benwell Rd., London N7 7AX
(tel: 071-700-4600)

USA hobby trade:
Bill Dean Books Ltd.,
131-35 31st Avenue,
Linden Hill, NY 11354

Canada:
Vanwell Publishing Ltd.,
1 Northrup Cres., PO Box 2131, Stn. B,
St. Catharines, Ontario L2M 6P5

Australia & New Zealand:
Gordon & Gorch Ltd.
25-37 Huntingdale Rd.
Burwood, Victoria 3125

South Africa:
Intermag,
CNA Building, 12 Laub St.,
New Centre, Johannesburg

France & Belgium:
Histoire & Collections,
19 Avenue de la République, 75011 Paris
(tel: 43-57-83-83)
Price 32fr.; year's subscriptions 350fr
(France), 390fr. (other EEC)

Italy:
Tuttostoria, PO Box 395, 43100 Parma
Price: £7,000, year's subscription £84,000

Denmark:
Dansk Bladdistribution
9 Ved Amagerbanen
DK-2300 Copenhagen

Sweden:
Plus Interpress
Strandbergsgatan 61, S-11289 Stockholm

Subscriptions service
Military Illustrated,
c/o Select Subscriptions
5 Riverpark Estate, Billet Lane, Berkhamsted,
Herts, HP4 1HL, England
(tel: 0442-876661)

Publisher's subscription rates for
12 issues (one year): UK, £30;
other European, £50; by Airspeed — USA,
\$75; other non-European, £60: all
payments in sterling or US dollars.

Military Illustrated Past & Present is
published monthly by Military Illustrated
Ltd. The subscription price is \$75 for one
year. Second Class Postage Pending at
Rahway, NJ. Postmaster send address
corrections to Military Illustrated c/o
Mercury Airfreight International Ltd, 233
Randolph Avenue, Avenel, New Jersey 07001, USA.

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Despite the acres of trees which have died to accommodate the millions of words in the media on the Gulf War, it seems inappropriate for us simply to ignore this extraordinary military event, which we have been covering as well as our long time-lag allows. More considered articles are under preparation. Since the speed of events, which has complicated our professional response, has also been directly responsible for the miraculously light allied casualties, we can only rejoice. Anti-climaxes save lives...

Panzer uniforms

Our articles on these sought-after collectors' items are by **Andrew Steven** and **Peter Amodio**. Born in Kent in 1954 and 1955 respectively, they met as schoolboys. Both were educated at Cannock House school in Chelsfield, Kent, and at Ravensbourne College of Art. Andrew began a career as a professional model-maker for the design and architectural world in 1974; Peter became an industrial designer in 1980. They have collaborated as keen militaria collectors since their boyhood; and in writing and illustrating articles for the specialist press. They have also pub-

lished the book *'Waffen-SS Uniforms in Colour Photographs'* (Windrow & Greene, London).

Planning your summer

In Spring a young man's fancy (and a middle-aged man's, too) lightly turns to thoughts of glinting steel, sunlit uniforms amid the greenery, and the lovely smell of burned powder. English Heritage have sent us a copy of their programme for the season, and we extract for readers' interest some of the hundreds of events which we think may appeal. (We have not listed the various 'medieval jousting displays' etc., which seem to occur all over the country every weekend: now thrive the armourers...) In each case we list the telephone number for further enquiries:

Roman army displays 5-6 May Richborough Castle, Sandwich, Kent (0304-612013); 29-30 June, Wroxeter Roman City, Shropshire (074375-330); 20-21 July, North Leigh Roman Villa, Oxfordshire (0993-881830); 27-28 July Pevensey Castle, E. Sussex

(0323-762604); 25 August, Corbridge Roman Site, Northumberland (0434-63249); 26 August, Chesters Roman fort, Hadrian's Wall (0434-681379).

Norman displays 10-11 August, Portchester Castle, Hampshire (0705-378291); 24-26 August, Battle Abbey, E. Sussex (04246-3792).

Life in a Medieval Household — display by the White Company: 2 June, 7 July & 1 September, Medieval Merchant's House, Southampton (0703-221503); 25-27 May, Goodrich Castle, Hereford & Worcs. (0600-890538); 10-11 August, Orford Castle, Suffolk (03944-50472).

Battle Abbey International Longbow Competition — Plantagenet Society: 25-27 May, Battle, E. Sussex (04246-3792).

English Civil War Society 20-21 July, Old Sarum, Wilts. (0822-335398); 27-28 July, Bolsover Castle, Derbys. (0246-823349); Battle Spectacular, 25-26 August, Boscobel House, Shropshire (0902-850244).

George III's Army — Crown Forces 1776: 15-16 June, Bolsover Castle,



Andrew Steven



Peter Amodio

Derbys. (0246-823349); 20-21 July, Richmond Castle, North Yorks. (0748-2493); 21-22 & 24-26 August, Pendennis Castle, Cornwall (0326-316594).

Wellington's Redcoats — 68th Durham Light Infantry displays: 26-27 May, Barnard Castle, Durham (0833-38212); 20-21 July & 31 August-1 September, Berwick Barracks, Northumberland (0289-304493); 17-18 August & 28-29 September, Richmond Castle, N. Yorks (0748-2493).

Napoleonic Association Battle Spectacular — 3-4 August, Tilbury Fort, Essex (0375-858489).

American Civil War — Southern Skirmish Association: 26-27 May, Fort Brockhurst, Gosport, Hants (0705-581059).

THE AUCTION SCENE

It is interesting, if somewhat fruitless at this time, to speculate as to what effect, if any, the successful Gulf War will have on the market for antique arms, armour and militaria. Will it create a minor recovery in the market? It is to be hoped so, for there are signs that the market is still rather depressed and prices, except



for top quality items, seem to be fairly static.

The Park Lane Arms Fair held in London in mid-February was, as always, a prestigious affair. The hall in the hotel was very pleasant, and there was some very good material on display; but the number of visitors was disappointing. A few dealers seemed happy with their sales, but on the other hand there were one or two who were saying that they would not be attending again. In general the goods on offer were of high quality and expensive, and this may well be one of the reasons for the rather low attendance; many potential visitors know that they are unlikely to be able to afford the sort of prices that are asked.

Other fairs tend to cater for a much wider range of prices and consequently people may feel there is a chance of acquiring some bargains.

Further to our note last month about the successful militaria sale at Christie's on 1 February, it is worth adding that an Italian Fascist banner of World War II made a surprising £220. Perhaps Italian material is on an upward trend, since it has never attracted much interest in the past

except for personal items associated with Mussolini. For the specialist collector one of the most interesting items was a very unusual early 19th century British naval cutlass with a short, wide blade and almost military-style hilt which sold for £374.

Close on the heels of this sale came Wallis & Wallis on 5 and 6 February. As always there were some interesting lots, and prices for the militaria ranged over the entire scale from £10—£1,000 pounds. Medals sold well and a number from a private collection fetched very good prices; a contributory factor may have been the extensive research included with each group. A little more unusual was some Bruce Bairnsfather 'Old Bill' crockery which included a pair of sepia printed, glazed china plates which sold for £110. Another lot of World War I interest was a set of surgical instruments in their case and dated 1917, which went for £1,000. British army badges continue to attract good prices, and this sale included some interesting colonial badges; Indian army material maintains its high prices.

The weapons section included two unusual pieces, both being prison officer's weapons from Birmingham Borough Gaol. One was a percussion carbine and the other a percussion pistol, both marked with the misspelt word 'Goal'. They sold at £450 and £460 — surprisingly, to two different bidders.

On 7 February Bonhams held a sale which started with a rather depressing run of bought-in lots; but things soon brightened, with £480 for an officer's Home Service pattern helmet of the Border Regiment, and

£300 for a similar one of the Royal Sussex Regiment. The highest price achieved, apart from sporting guns, was £2,300 for a Scottish all-metal flintlock pistol by T. Murdoch, circa 1780.

One class of objects that continues to rise in price, fetching figures which a few years ago would have been astounding, is truncheons. Bonhams had a small group, and most realised around the £100 mark; a short painted Metropolitan Police example reached £140, and another marked with 'H.M.R.T.' went for £160.

On 20 February Christie's held one of their usual high-quality sales of arms and armour, and there the highest price was £18,700 paid for a pair of flintlock duelling pistols cased together with an over-and-under pocket pistol, all signed by Joseph Egg. A flintlock New Land Pattern musket realised £770, another indication that there seems to be a rising interest and demand for British military firearms. Cased duelling pistols by famous makers naturally maintain their high prices, with £4,620 bid for a pair of Wogdons and £7,150 for a pair by Joseph Manton. There is still little interest in Turkish pistols, and a pair sold for only £242, although a pair of North African flintlock pistols decorated overall with panels of coral and of striking appearance went to £10,450.

Weller & Duffy continue to hold their specialist sales; but they must have been sorry to see Bill Harriman, their benign cataloguer, leave to work for one of the main shooting bodies. The second part of the Visser sale of important firearms and edged weapons is now planned for June of this year. The first half did well and will no doubt stimulate interest in this section for there are some very fine pieces still to be seen.

Frederick Wilkinson

At Wallis & Wallis on 5/6 February this French cuirassier's helmet, breast and backplate in very complete condition fetched £950. (Photo: Tom Reeves)

Video Releases to Buy:

'War and Peace' (Hendring)

'Chapayev' (Hendring)

'We Are From Kronstadt' (Hendring)

Arguably the most eagerly awaited release on video in this country, amongst military history buffs at least, has been Sergei Bondarchuk's spectacular adaptation of Tolstoy's epic novel *War and Peace*. The novel concerns four aristocratic Russian families between 1805 and 1812, with an epilogue set some years later. The principal characters include Prince Andrei Bolkonsky, who, as an officer in the Russian army, participates in the campaigns of 1805 and 1812, and Pierre Bezukov, whose spiritual quest doubtless reflected Tolstoy's own. Both these men fall in love with Natasha Rostova, a girl who matures from child to adult during the action of the story.

The story had been filmed twice in the early days of Russian silent cinema, and notably by King Vidor in the 1956 American/Italian co-production. Although excellent by Hollywood standards, Vidor's version pales in comparison with *Voina I Mir* (1962-7), produced, directed and co-written by Sergei Bondarchuk, who also took on the crucial role of Pierre. The film, originally 507 minutes long, was released in four parts in Russia. Bondarchuk prepared a shorter version, some seven hours long, for release in the West. Unfortunately the American distributors cut some sequences, re-edited others, added split-screen effects and superimposed intrusive American dubbing: this was the six-hour version shown theatrically in this country. The BBC has broadcast both the six- and seven-hour versions, and it is the latter which is now available in a three-tape boxed set. This version is sub-titled, but unfortunately has lost the original wide-screen framing of the image.

The first part, called *Andrei Bolkonsky*, is set during Napoleon's 1805 Austerlitz campaign. It features the successful rearguard action fought by Prince Bagration at the battle of Schoengraben (Hollabrunn), and Napoleon's victory over the combined Russian and Austrian armies at Austerlitz. Part Two, called *Natasha*, opens with Czar Alexander I and Napoleon signing the Treaty of Tilsit on a raft floating on the River Niemen. Andrei (Vacheslav Tihonov) falls in love with the young Natasha (Ludmila Savelyeva) after the death of his wife in childbirth, but breaks their engagement when she attempts to elope with

ON THE SCREEN



Vacheslav Tihonov (Andrei Bolkonsky) in Bondarchuk's *War and Peace*.

the impetuous and unreliable Anatole Kuryagin (Vasili Lanovoi). The final two parts are on the last tape. 1812 covers the initial stages of Napoleon's invasion of Russia in that year. Pierre observes the terrible battle of Borodino from a Russian redoubt and finds himself in the thick of the fighting. By contrast Andrei, in command of a regiment in the reserve, is fatally wounded by a shell. In the last part, called *Pierre Bezukov*, Pierre is taken prisoner by the French in Moscow as a suspected fire-raiser. He is forced to accompany Napoleon's disastrous retreat westwards, before rescue and a final reunion with Natasha.

The statistics of the production were remarkable: 160 cannon and 120 wagons were used, and for the Borodino sequence alone the Red Army provided four infantry and two cavalry divisions. Soldiers impersonating Russian and French troops were drilled to march at 75 and 120 steps per minute respectively; and the changes in uniform which took place between 1805 and 1812 were properly duplicated. This is, without doubt, the film which every Napoleonic enthusiast will want to own.

Two other releases in Hendring's *Russian Classics* series deal with the

A scene during the French retreat, typical of the use made by Bondarchuk of the extraordinary resources he enjoyed, including six divisions of the Red Army. (National Film Archive, London)

Russian Civil War of 1918-1921. *Chapayev* (1934) concerns a Red Army commander who fought against both the Czechs and forces led by Admiral Kolchak in the Southern Urals in 1919. It was scripted and directed by Georgi and Sergei Vasiliev who, although unrelated, were known as the 'Vasiliev brothers'. The story was based on a semi-autobiographical novel by Dmitri Furmanov, a political commissar assigned to Chapayev's division. Boris Babochkin, in the title role, conveys Chapayev's lack of education, outbursts of anger, and an insistence on rigid discipline which is tempered by a human fallibility: it is his own failure to post sufficient guards which allows a surprise attack by the Whites. In spite of poor sound recording conditions and static camerawork, several sequences stay in the mind. Particularly memorable is a 'psychological attack' by White Guard officers, advancing with parade-ground precision to the beat of a drum.

We Are From Kronstadt (1936) concerns the defence of Petrograd against General Yudenich's White army by workers from the city and sailors from the nearby port of Kronstadt. The sailors successfully capture a strategic hill, and hold off several counter-attacks by White Guard units. Eventually they are overrun, and the few who are taken prisoner have weights tied round their necks before

being thrown from a cliff into the sea. One survives, and makes his way back to Kronstadt from where he can guide the amphibious assault force that surprises the invading White army from their rear. Although made only two years after *Chapayev*, advances in film technique are evident: tracking shots in the scenes of trench warfare can be compared to Lewis Milestone's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1930).

Both films are classic examples of the application to the arts of Soviet 'Socialist Realism', a programme with specific political and ideological aims which were determined by the needs of the Party. These aims included relating experiences that were close to the people, and stressing the role of the Party as guide and educator. Hence, Furmanov is instrumental in Chapayev's transformation from a bandit leader to a disciplined Red Army commander. A Stalinist re-writing of history is evident: Trotsky, who masterminded the Red Army at the time, is never mentioned. In *We Are From Kronstadt* the sailors facing execution heroically declare their allegiance to the Party before being pushed to their deaths. Nonetheless, both films are well-paced and feature large scale battle scenes. Useful historical notes are printed inside the sleeves, but potential buyers should note that the *Chapayev* sleeve erroneously sports a still from *We Are From Kronstadt*. However, Hendring are once again to be congratulated for making available these little-seen and most interesting films.

Stephen J. Greenhill

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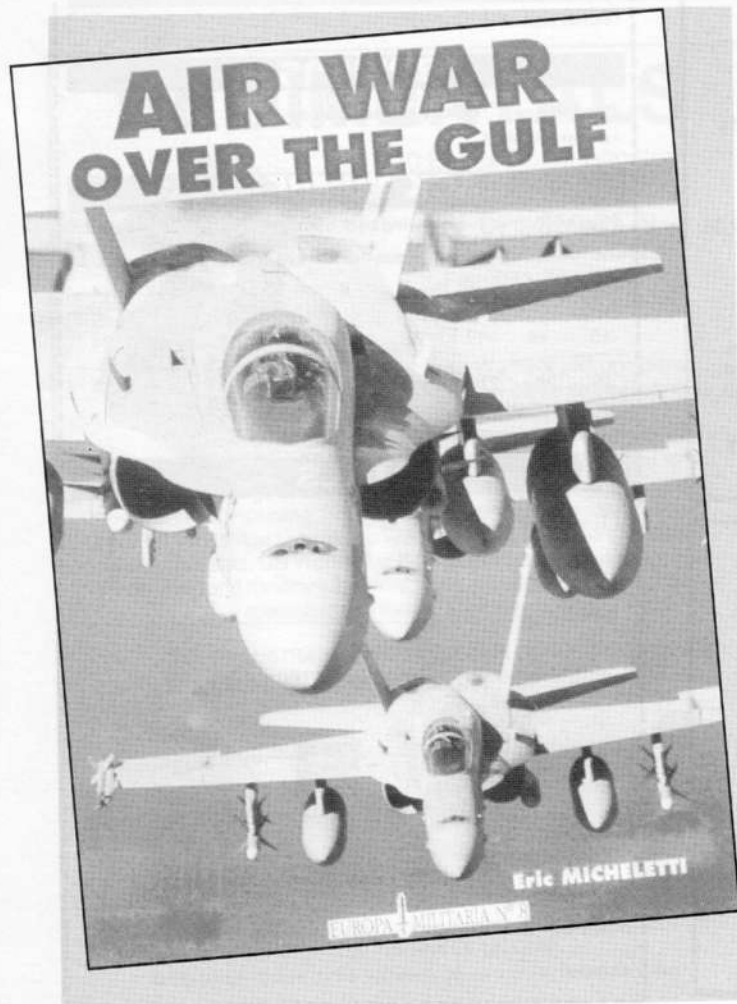
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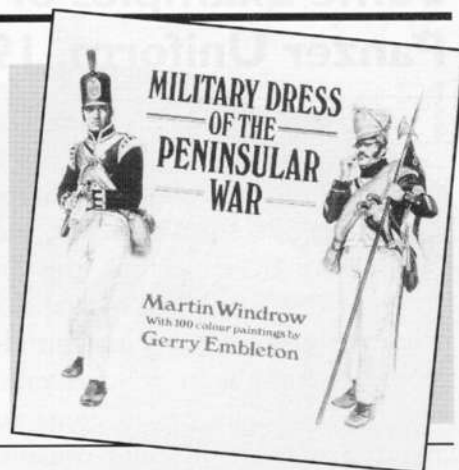
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Some Examples of the Black Panzer Uniform, 1939-45 (I)

ANDREW STEVEN & PETER AMODIO

One of the most dramatic German field uniforms of the Second World War, and among the most sought-after by collectors, the *Sonderbekleidung der Deutschen Panzertruppen* ('special clothing for German armour troops') existed in a number of slight variations. Generally these are undocumented, and represent the products of different manufacturers, the favoured style of different organisations, and vague trends over a period of years rather than official modifications. Access to a number of surviving examples allows us to make some comparisons.

The uniform was designed in 1934 to replace the clothing of *Kraftfahrkampftruppen* of the Reichswehr, which had never been fully defined. After extensive trials the uniform was officially adopted by an order of 12 November that year. Its introduction was symbolic of Germany's open repudiation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Since 1918

the Germany Army had been forbidden tracked armoured fighting vehicles. But while field exercises were carried out with dummy tanks made of canvas and plywood mounted on cars, secret experimental work was being undertaken at clandestine centres set up overseas with foreign co-operation — notably, and ironically, that of the USSR. The issue of the

glamorous new uniform coincided with Hitler's repudiation of the Treaty in 1935.

The uniform's design — in which Colonel Heinz Guderian, the 'father' of the Panzer arm during and after its clandestine period, is supposed to have been involved — clearly combined practical comfort with the glamour thought appropriate for a fledgling organisation which intended to be recognised as an elite.

It was ordered for wear by all ranks when actually serving with armoured vehicles. At all other times armoured personnel were to retain the universal field-grey service uniform distinguished by the pink *Waffenfarbe* of their arm of service, and by a Gothic 'P' cypher on the shoulderstraps. The popularity of the vehicle uniform was such that personnel in fact seized every opportunity to wear it, and as the war drew on it could even be seen worn as walking-out dress. It would seem that in the interests of morale the prohibition on its use away from the vehicles was not rigidly enforced.

The practical aspects of the uniform were revolutionary for its day. It consisted of a protective headgear (*Schutzmütze*); a jacket (*Feldjackete*); trousers (*Feldhose*); and — since the collar was worn open — a collar-attached shirt (*Trikot*) in mouse-grey, worn with a black necktie. It was worn with the standard long marching boots in the pre- and early war years. The colour of headgear, jacket and trousers was black — a practical colour when working with oily mechanised vehicles, but also dramatic in appearance. The cut seems to have been influenced partly by current fashions in ski and outdoor leisure clothing.

The jacket was double-breasted, without external pockets or exposed buttons,

and cut shorter than the standard service tunic; shoulderstraps were frequently sewn down all round, the further to prevent any risk of the uniform snagging on the many projections inside the cramped fighting compartment of an AFV. The trousers were long and loose, shaped in at the ankles, which tightened by a button and a drawstring. They were worn over the top of the marching boots; after the gradual replacement of these by laced ankle boots in the mid-war years they were fastened round the tops of the boots.

Headgear will be described in the second part of this article.

THE JACKET

The hip-length black woollen double-breasted jacket had a deep falling collar and long, broad lapels. The left-hand front panel was carried across

Colour photographs opposite:
(A) Reconstruction: private or junior NCO, Panzer-Regiment 'Grossdeutschland', 1941-42. The *Feldmütze*, as introduced for Panzer troops in 1940, is of model 1938 cut; interestingly this example is made of a black gabardine material rather than wool. It bears a mouse-grey *BeVö* national insignia, and tricolour national cockade, on black backings; and the right-angled soutache of rose pink *Waffenfarbe*. The *Feldjackete* is a good wartime example, with sewn-in shoulderstraps piped pink and bearing the other ranks' 'GD' cypher embroidered in pink. The headset and throat microphones are of armoured crews' type. (Photo: authors' collection)

(B), (C) Details of the same jacket. It has elongated collar points rounded at the tips; the *Waffenfarbe* collar piping is original to this jacket, but rather crudely attached. The breast is buttoned closed in (C), showing the slanted front edge — this would appear more marked when the jacket was worn. Note the small through-button immediately below the end of the left lapel; the four large front buttons are concealed by a fly. Note the company number '5' on the pebbled aluminium shoulderstrap buttons.

The right forearm bears a good example of the other ranks' white-on-black Sutterlin script 'Grossdeutschland' cufftitle. The white-on-black *BeVö* national insignia seems to have been attached retrospectively; although it is fixed with the usual zig-zag stitching this is taken through the right breast lining; normally it is only taken through the black front panel. Note the hanging belt-support tab with alternative positions for the aluminium belt hook. (Photos: Tom Reeves)



Crew of a 4.7cm PAK(t) of Panzer-Jäger-Abteilung 521 photographed in the pre-war years. Although this AFV was not taken into service until 1936, these men seem still to lack the national insignia above the wreathed cockade on the *Schutzmütze*: this headgear will be discussed in Part 2. It is a good study of the practical appearance of the uniform, with the trousers bloused over the marching boots, and the belt support hook in use.



A

B



C



A superb privately tailored Feldjacket bearing an Oberstleutnant's shoulderstraps. On the grey lining of the left front panel can be seen manufacturer's stamps apparently dated 1941, and below them the stamp of Panzer-Regiment 3. Note the drawstring, the tabs for the optional belt support hook, the loops for the two buttons on the right front edge, and the pocket. This private jacket has no exposed buttons on the right chest and shoulder, no hook-and-eye, and cannot be fastened closed to the throat.

examples sometimes have this vent, but sewn closed.

The shape of the collar was subject to quite wide, if subtle, variation. The first photographs of the mid-1930s show a moderate size and relatively 'squared' points. During the early war years examples with elongated, acutely-angled points became common. In the late war years the collar often became smaller once again. There are no specific reasons for these trends, other than, presumably, late-war economies.

A metal hook-and-eye arrangement was provided on issue jackets for use when the lapels were buttoned closed to the neck. The hook is mounted at the apex of the notch between the right hand collar and lapel, the eye in the corresponding position on the left. This is often absent from privately tailored

to the far right of the chest, overlaying the right-hand panel across the full width of the torso; this feature was presumably to give better weather protection to exposed turret crews. The closure down the right side of the torso was by four (usually) or three large black plastic buttons, concealed by a fly. These were arranged, and the left-hand panel edge was cut, to give a slanting closure downwards and inwards towards the centre of the body.

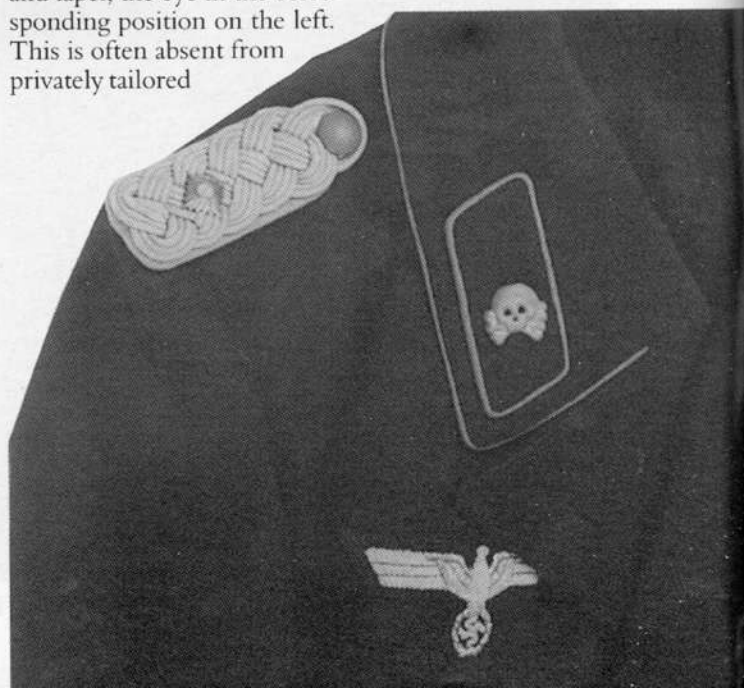
Above these concealed buttons, and continuing their line up towards the right shoulder, were three smaller black plastic buttons, more widely spaced. These were to engage three buttonholes passing right through the cloth along the edge of the left lapel. The left lapel could be (in theory — but, to judge from photographs, was seldom in practice) folded up and carried across the chest to engage with these upper buttons, closing the jacket to the throat. The top 'exposed' button was placed underneath the falling collar; the second was usually visible above, and the third below, the

national eagle insignia on the right chest.

Photographs show that some personnel habitually wore the lower of these exposed buttons engaged with the corresponding buttonhole in the left lapel; others did not. The length and angle of the visible part of the left lapel thus varied; its lower edge sometimes presented a notably shallow angle across the torso, less than 45° above the horizontal.

Pre-war jackets were often cut with a single back panel; later two panels, with a central vertical seam, were more common. The plain cuffs had a short rear vent with a concealed fibre or plastic button; late-war

Detail of the insignia on the Oberstleutnant's jacket. The shoulderstraps of rank are in the usual 'oxydised' silver Russia braid on pink underlay, with a gilt 'pip', and a plain pebbled button painted field grey. The pink-piped collar is of modest proportions, with a very narrow notch between collar and lapel, and is relatively 'squared'. Its angles match those of the Totenkopf patch perfectly, as one would expect on a tailored garment. The death's-head is often seen applied slightly below perfect centre on the patch. The national insignia is hand-embroidered in silver (aluminium) wire on black backing.



ton fabric, later with grey artificial silk; examples show quite wide variations of colour, but the normal range was from off-white to a pale mouse grey, sometimes in a herringbone weave. The literature contains references to jackets with lined backs, but all the examples we have examined are lined inside the front panels only, with a sweat-pad under the armpit. The lining material is also used for an internal 'tunnel' round the top of the waist for tightening tapes; and for the vertical tabs through which aluminium belt-support hooks could be mounted to pass through holes in the jacket body. Pockets are provided in the lining of both front panels. At the rear of the left-hand panel lining there are, typically, two tape loops; these engage with small plastic buttons on the edge of the covered right-hand front panel, to prevent the lat-

An Oberfeldwebel (left) and a Leutnant — the latter, from his decorations, clearly a commissioned former ranker — of the Panzer-Regiment 'Grossdeutschland' neatly displaying both piped and unpiped collars, presumably during 1942. Note the contrasting angles at which the collars are cut and notched and the patches attached. The NCO wears the 1940 black Feldmütze with BeVo eagle in white, pink soutache and flat-woven cockade; the Leutnant, the officer's equivalent, with silver piping round the crown and in the front arc of the turn-up, and a silver BeVo eagle. It lacks the soutache, officially discarded from July 1942. Both men wear the General Assault Badge, Iron Cross 1st Class, and Winter 1941-42 Medal ribbon, and the officer the German Cross in Gold; presumably both were transferred from other units of the 'GD' Division after distinguishing themselves in action in the first year of the Russian campaign.

ter 'creeping' to the right under the buttoned left-hand panel.

INSIGNIA

Initially the national insignia — the straight-winged eagle with clipped tips, clutching the wreathed mobile swastika — was not worn on the jacket. An order of 11 November 1935 brought it into use; for the Panzer uniform it was machine-woven in white thread on black backing. As the war progressed the colour changed to off-white, silver-grey, and finally to mouse-grey. No conclusions can be drawn about the date of an individual



The only published photograph of a member of a Panzer-Pioniere-Kompanie wearing the Sonderbekleidung with the black and white Waffenfarbe piping authorised in May 1940. It presumably dates from the early weeks of the invasion of Russia. The use of steel helmet and MP when away from the tank in a combat zone are typical. It is interesting that this man wears the Wound Badge of the Spanish Civil War model and a Spanish campaign ribbon in his buttonhole — clearly he is a Condor Legion veteran.



jacket from the use of a particular variation of eagle, apart from the first white and last mouse-grey types, typical of 1939-40 and 1944-45 respectively. Officers typically wore high-quality, hand-embroidered silver bullion wire equivalents, but not invariably — officers' everyday jackets may be found with other ranks' issue insignia.

Shoulderstraps

The shoulderstraps were of the same basic design as all other Army straps. For other ranks they were of black woollen cloth, edged with piping in the pink *Waffenfarbe* identifying the armoured branch. Ranks below Unteroffizier had plain black straps edged pink, bearing pink-embroidered regimental numbers. The Unteroffizier had embroidered numbers, and the standard 9mm silver *Tresse* braid round the inner edge of the piping. NCO ranks above this had *Tresse* all round the strap, various combinations of white-metal rank 'pips', and white-metal pin-on regimental numbers. Officers wore the usual silver 'Russia braid' shoulderstraps on an underlay of pink *Waffenfarbe*, with yellow-metal 'pips' as appropriate, and yellow-metal regimental numbers. Other ranks' buttons were of white-metal, pebbled finish, and pre-war

examples have raised numerals — Arabic indicating the company, or, where appropriate, Roman indicating battalion. Officers wore plain pebbled buttons. During the war it was normal, certainly in war zones, for the numbers of regiments to be omitted, and worn — if at all — only behind the lines and on slip-over loops of black cloth.

Pre-war and early wartime shoulderstraps were of the sewn-in type, the outer ends being sewn into the jacket shoulder seam and the inner ends buttoned. From the mid-war years the slip-on 'tongue and bridle' detachable type were much more common; these normally have field grey undersurfaces.

Junior NCO rank insignia — the usual sequence of chevrons and 'pips' — were applied to the left sleeve in silver-grey braid on black backing. The two rings of silver-grey *Tresse* identifying the unit senior warrant officer or 'Spiess' were worn on both cuffs.

Collar insignia

The decoration of the collar of the Panzer jacket was unique at the time of its introduction. The outer edges of the collar were piped, for all ranks, in 2-3mm pink *Waffenfarbe*. This was ordered discontinued, presumably for economy, from some



D

(D) Reconstruction: Hauptmann, Panzer-Regiment 'Grossdeutschland', 1942-43. The field-grey and dark green Schirmmütze, piped in pink, has a fine hand-embroidered wreath and pressed metal cockade and national eagle. The jacket has a broad collar with wide points, and a very open notch between collar and lapel; note also that unlike the other ranks' jacket on p.11, which has the Totenkopf patches aligned with the outside edge, this has patches set far in and aligned with the bottom. The sewn-in shoulderstraps of rank bear the officer's gold-coloured metal 'GD' cypher. The hand-embroidered national insignia on the breast is in silver wire, as is the 'Grossdeutschland' cufftitle. He wears a pair of 6x50 binoculars, and has a mapcase slung on his belt. (Photo: authors' collection)



E

(E) Panzer trousers, left side. The grey lining bears the stamp '1942'. Note the shaping of the ankles, with button and drawstring at the outside vent. Note the fabric integral belt and three-prong buckle; and the standard type of black plastic buttons. This pair lacks the buttons often found set round the inside waistband for attachment to underwear shorts. The front vertical leg seams on this pair are actually stitched in place, suggesting 'best uniform'.

(F) Detail, right side, of a second pair of trousers. These have white lining; underwear buttons; and all buttons are of black-painted yellow metal. (Photos: Tom Reeves)



date during 1942 — we have been unable to find documentation of this. It was still to be seen after this date, worn by veterans on jackets predating the order; and by many officers on privately purchased jackets right up to the end of the war.

The NCO's *Tresse* braid normally worn on the collar edges of the field grey tunic was specifically omitted from the black jacket.

All ranks — up to and including general officers — wore a single type of collar patches on the black jacket, in 'handed' pairs. These were of black cloth, rhombic in shape, 35mm wide and 70 to 75mm long, and outlined all round with pink *Waffenfarbe* piping. They bore pressed, plated white metal or aluminium 'death's-head' badges, usually pinned through the centre of the patch by two prongs, and/or occasionally stitched through the voided eyesockets, before the patch was stitched to the collar. The bottom edge of the patch was supposed to be set 10mm in from and parallel to the bottom edge of the collar. This was feasible on the early, relatively 'squared' collar points; on later and more elongated points whose angle did not match that of the rhombic patch (which is itself found with varying internal angles) the patch seems normally to have been set further up from the bottom edge of the collar and parallel to its outer edge. The photographs in both parts of this article illustrate the wide variation seen in the exact application of patches.

The choice of this death's-head device, especially for wear on a black uniform, clearly echoed the historical traditions of élite Prussian light cavalry units. The use of a death's-head device by black-uniformed troops dates back to Frederick the Great's 5th Hussars, raised in 1741, and was continued by the *Liebhussaren* of the Napoleonic and Imperial periods.

General officers may, in individual cases, have substituted gold cord piping for pink on the collar, but we have no authenticated evidence of this. At least two generals were photographed wearing their gold-

on-red oakleaf patches on the black jacket (Lt.Gen. Hoppe, 278. Volksgrenadier-Division, and Maj.Gen. Adalbert Schultz, 7. Panzer-Division). Most Panzer generals retained the standard collar piping and patches, their rank being indicated by their shoulderstraps and their gold national insignia.

Other insignia

'Trade' or specialist badges, as normally worn in yellow on dark green backing on the forearm of field grey uniforms, are rarely seen in photographs of the black uniform, but were worn, apparently both in standard form and on special black backings.

The full normal range of decorations and battle badges were worn on the black jacket. Where appropriate the ribbon of the Iron Cross 2nd Class was displayed in the top buttonhole of the left lapel; so, often, was the Eastern Front Winter 1941-42 Medal ribbon. Battle shields — e.g. 'Krim', 'Cholm', 'Demjansk', etc. — were applied to the upper sleeve on black backing where appropriate, and were also worn by personnel who transferred subsequently into regiments so honoured. The 'Afrikakorps' cufftitle was worn by personnel on leave on the black jacket during the appropriate period; and subsequently the 'Afrika' campaign title was seen displayed on the black jacket by Africa veterans until the end of the war.

Special insignia

Pink *Waffenfarbe* was applied to all the parts of the jacket described above for tank, armoured heavy anti-tank, reconnaissance and armoured train units: in the last two cases, with a Gothic 'A' or 'E' respectively on the shoulderstraps in the usual rank/colour sequence. Lemon yellow was displayed by armoured signals personnel — i.e. by units of the signals branch serving in armoured vehicles and authorised the black vehicle uniform, not by the radio personnel of tank units. An order of 10 May 1940 extended the black uniform to Panzer-Pioniere-Kompanien (armoured combat engineers), with black/white mixed piping in all appropriate positions on the jacket, collar

patches and headgear. This seems to have been short-lived, and was not seen after 1941. Golden yellow piping was worn in all normal positions by the personnel of 24. Panzer-Division, formed from 1. Kavallerie-Division in November 1941; this was retained throughout the war. The second company and the reconnaissance platoon of the Führer-Begleitbataillon, who were authorised black vehicle uniform, wore white piping in all normal positions, and 'Grossdeutschland' insignia (see below).

Personnel of Panzer-Division (later, Korps) 'Grossdeutschland' authorised the black uniform wore normal pink *Waffenfarbe*; a 'GD' cypher on the shoulderstraps in the usual rank/colour sequence; and the 'Grossdeutschland' cufftitle on the lower right sleeve. This was of black woollen cloth, 32mm wide, with white (or for officers, silver) edges and legend, the latter in one of two different scripts, Sütterlin or Gothic. The cypher was later more normally worn on a black slip-on loop.

Personnel authorised the black uniform in the armoured elements of 60. Panzer-Grenadier-Division 'Feldherrnhalle', and of the later nominal Panzer-Korps, wore on the left forearm a 27mm SA-brown cufftitle with silver-grey edges and legend, the latter in Sütterlin script. The 'Feldherrnhalle Kampfrunen' insignia was authorised for wear in the usual rank/colour sequence on shoulderstraps from spring 1943, and presumably this applied equally to the armoured elements.

The 130. Panzer-Lehr-Division, an élite formation formed in November 1943, wore a Gothic 'L' on the shoulderstraps in the usual rank/colour sequence.

THE TROUSERS

The loose-cut black woollen trousers were designed to attach at the ankle and to blouse over the boots. There was a short vent at the bottom of the outseam, closed by a black plastic button and a drawstring; some examples also have a tape

'stirrup' passing under the foot, though this could only be used, obviously, with the laced ankle boots.

The trousers had two slanted front slash pockets closed by forward-buttoning flaps; these had one, or very occasionally two exposed black plastic or black-painted metal buttons. There were either one or more usually two rear hip slash pockets closed by single-button flaps, both exposed and concealed buttons being known. There was also a small fob pocket in the right front.

A single photograph of an officer and an NCO of schwere Panzer-Abteilung 503, the Tiger unit, at Kharkov in August 1943 clearly shows a map pocket with a buttoned flap on the outside of the right leg at knee level, and what appears to be another, perhaps without a flap, on the left leg. These must have been individually acquired modifications.

The trousers were unique at the time of introduction in being fastened at the waist by a light webbing integral belt passing through a hem, and a patent two- or three-prong buckle. At this date all German service trousers were fitted with buttons for braces (suspenders). It was apparently felt that since armour crews often took off their jackets in hot conditions, the risk of the braces snagging was unacceptable. On very late examples of the trousers the integral belt is absent, and black external loops are provided for use with a separate belt, as was by then standard practice on the model 1942 and 1944 field grey uniform trousers. The fly fastened with four large buttons set on the right side, and two set on the left at the top, buttoning back through the right side of the waistband. **MI**

To be continued: Part 2 will describe and illustrate the black vehicle uniforms worn by *Waffen-SS* and *Luftwaffe* units; and headgear associated with the Panzer uniforms

Grim Reaping:

Green Howards Medals, 1914-15

JOHN SYDNEY

A medal collector who specialises in a particular unit or engagement can pursue research which produces a vivid picture of the human experience of groups of soldiers. Here a specialist on the Green Howards traces an officer and several men through the first grim months of the Great War, the path of his research following the terrible attrition suffered by the Regulars of the pre-war army.

The First World War has probably scooped the pool in military records for all time: the largest number of men ever committed to battle, the largest number of shells ever fired, the highest number of casualties in any one day, the longest run of trenches dug, etc. Among all these appalling statistics is one that is worth re-emphasising with some examples: the number of officers and men of the pre-war British Regular Army who died or were disabled in the first twelve months of the war. Only a small force (it never exceeded 200,000 men in peacetime), it was as professional an army as any in the world at that time; but it simply was not large enough to compare with the major continental forces. Consequently it was destroyed gradually at Mons, at Le Cateau, on the Marne, on the Aisne, at the first and second battles of Ypres, at Neuve Chapelle, Festubert, Givenchy, and perhaps finally at Loos. Most of the pre-war Regulars were dead or disabled by October 1915, and it was the volunteers of Kitchener's 'new' armies and the conscripts of 1916-18 who finished the war.

There is, of course, a large body of anecdotal evidence, and a certain number of published accounts, of men who went through the entire war with little more than a scratch, but in a battalion of 1,000 men these cases could hardly be statistically significant. Unfortunately there is no research available to confirm or deny

the validity of any relevant figures.

This article sets out to tell the story of one of those officers, and several of those men, and the reason for having chosen these particular individuals is because over the years I have had the good fortune to acquire their medals. The story looks in detail at the career of the officer, largely because it is so well documented; unfortunately it is impossible to acquire, from official Ministry of Defence records, any biographical data on the careers of soldiers who served during World War I.

BERTRAM LEATHAM

Bertram Henry Leatham was a Yorkshireman, born 2 March 1881 at Heath, near Wakefield, the fourth son of Samuel Gurney Leatham of Hemsworth Hall. He underwent the typical education for officers of his time: public school (Charterhouse, in his case) and Sandhurst. He was gazetted to Alexandra Princess of Wales's Own Yorkshire Regiment (known for short as the Yorkshire Regiment, or more commonly, the Green Howards), as a second lieutenant on 11 August 1900. He underwent his initial training at Strensall, becoming the best shot in his party of recruits. He joined B Coy. of the 1st Battalion at Barberton in the Transvaal on 8 February 1901 — too late to take part in any of the major battles of the Boer War, but in plenty of time to endure long days of boredom



in garrison duty, or on patrol (he also served in the 4th Bn. Mounted Infantry).

To relieve this tedium he indulged in field sports and organised games. His speciality was association football (there are many references in the *Green Howards Gazette* to illustrate his performance on the pitch), but he was an all-round sportsman, including among his accomplishments talents for hockey and polo; and photographs in the *Green Howards Gazette* indicate that he must have been a physically imposing man. He obviously had great qualities of leadership and a large measure of determination. For example, he competed with his M Company team in the Evelyn Wood Competition at Aldershot in 1906, coming fourth out of 85, and the next year he won it, with B Company, scoring 163 points. This man had all the makings of a hero in the best traditions of the Edwardian period, at first lacking only a wife and family to complete the picture; he rectified this by

Lt. Col. B. H. Leatham, who served with the 2nd Bn., Yorkshire Regiment (the Green Howards) from December 1914 until transferred to command 2nd Bn., Wiltshire Regiment late in June 1915.

marrying Miss Everil Gordon Robinson, daughter of the Rector of Badsworth, Yorkshire, on 27 August 1912 at Badsworth Church. A daughter was born on 19 September 1914.

Battle replacements

When war was declared in August 1914 Leatham was undertaking a tour of duty at the regimental depot in Richmond, Yorkshire, while the 1st Battalion languished in India, and he took over the adjutancy in September. On 15 October he left to join the 3rd (Special Reserve) Bn.; but the attrition rate of the First Battle of Ypres was so high that he was sent out with a draft to take command of the 2/Yorkshires on 2 December 1914. The fighting around Ypres during the second half of October had left the battalion exhausted and badly reduced in numbers; and

although this review is largely concerned with individuals and not formations, it may be helpful to sketch in the sequence of events that had brought the unit to the state it was in when Leatham joined.

The 2/Yorkshires were in Guernsey when war was declared and, not having been allotted to any of the brigades or divisions that formed the original BEF, the battalion missed the battles of August and September in France. However, they had plenty of fighting to do as part of the 21st Infantry Brigade (together with the 2/Bedfordshire Regiment, 2/Royal Scots Fusiliers, and 2/Wiltshire Regiment) in the 7th Infantry Division — a scratch formation made up of troops from the UK, Egypt, Malta, Gibraltar and the Cape — at First Ypres. The fighting was intense, and the casualties sustained by the battalion up to 15 November were enormous: 10 officers killed, 18 wounded, 250 ORs killed and 405 wounded — a

Right:

Reverse of the 1914 Star awarded to Sgt. Allick Shortridge — the only man of 2/Yorkshires killed on 22 January 1915 during a quiet period in water-logged trenches — the victim of the kind of desultory sniping or 'nuisance' shelling which inflicted a steady drain of casualties on most battalions even on quiet sectors of the front line. It bears typical impressing for a 1914 Star of this unit: '6269/SGT A. SHORT- RIDGE. 2/YORK.R.'

Far right:

The apparently anachronistic impressing on the reverse of the late issue 1914 Star of Frederick Johnson, killed in action on 22 October 1914 at First Ypres when 21 Brigade was heavily attacked by the German 54th Division. His name is recorded on the Menin Gate, so he was presumably killed and buried by shellfire and has no known grave. The faint impressing is in the style of the late 1920s; this is a replacement medal provided to his brother: '8697 PTE. F. JOHNSON. YORKR.'

total of nearly 70% of the strength that had disembarked on 6 October.

Frederick Johnson

All the Yorkshires' casualties were pre-war Regulars (there

were reservists in the ranks, of course, but these men had also been pre-war Regulars at one time), and one of them was 8697 Pte. Frederick Johnson, a

Londoner who had enlisted in early 1907; he had been appointed lance-corporal in March 1912, but had lost his stripe by the outbreak of war.

The wet trenches occupied by 21st Bde. during the winter of 1914/15: 2/Royal Scots Fusiliers wearing goatskin coats (IWM)



Johnson was 25 years old and had served his seven years with the colours when he was killed on 22 October while the 21st Brigade withstood an attack by the German 54th Reserve Division advancing from Becelaere. As C. J. Atkinson, the historian of the 7th Division, described it, the Germans 'had bombarded [the 21st Brigade's] trenches mercilessly all the morning... and the trenches were terribly knocked about, men being buried and rifles put out of action. The destruction of the reserve trenches increased the difficulty of keeping the firing-line supplied with ammunition; there had been no time to dig communication trenches, and parties bringing ammunition up by hand lost heavily in crossing the open.' Despite all the damage, the Brigade produced such a devastating fire that the German casualties were 'literally piled up in heaps'; not, though, without great loss to the defenders — the Yorkshires lost 26 men killed, as well as Johnson; he is commemorated on the Menin Gate Memorial, probably having been killed by the shellfire of the morning bombardment.

There is something rather unusual about Johnson's medals. When I first bought them I was unsure as to their authenticity because the style of naming was quite unlike the usual style, particularly on the 1914 Star, to Yorkshire Regiment soldiers. However, when I researched the Army Medal Office index card data at the Public Record Office (reference WO 329/1) it became clear that, for some unexplained reason, Johnson's original medals had been returned to the authorities on 20 March 1923 (and presumably subsequently destroyed), and had been re-issued to 'Bro H.A.' on 7 May 1929 — according to data supplied by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, H.A. Johnson, Frederick's brother, who lived in Somers Town, London.

Wet trenches, nagging losses

The battalion that Leatham joined, and took command of, on 3 December had been commanded since 30 October



Reverse of a typical 1914-15 Star, without the battalion number: '5997 PTE W. A. KAYE, YORK/R.' Kaye was a veteran of the Boer War, like Leatham, and already boasted the Queen's South Africa Medal with six battle bars and the King's South Africa Medal.

(when the CO Lt. Col. Charles King had been killed) by Capt. Bryan Moss-Blundell, the senior surviving captain. During the last two weeks of November drafts from home brought the battalion back up to strength; and it remained at Fleurbaix for some weeks, alternating three days in and out of the trenches with the other battalions of the Brigade.

Leatham did not have long to command the battalion: Lt. Col. Walter Alexander, who had been wounded on 29 October, returned to assume command on 23 December, bringing with him a welcome draft of 120 NCOs and men, probably a mixture of wounded men returning (like the CO), late arriving reservists, raw line recruits, and discharged Regulars who had re-enlisted (there were a surprisingly high number of these). Generally the weather in December 1914 was extremely wet; it rained so much that the trenches were filled with water up to the knees, and if pumping stopped they flooded, and the parapets gave way. The *Green Howards Gazette* published an anonymous article entitled 'The Grin Hards', which ended: 'In conclusion, we should like to acquaint the readers... of this article with the delights of an evening pull in a skiff down the trenches under

the moon, and the subsequent turn into a backwater, previously known as a dug-out, where we can drop anchor for the night'. The weather improved in January and February 1915, and the water level was controlled by pumping, but the country around remained waterlogged.

Casualties were still nibbling away at the battalion's strength. One of these was 6269 Sgt. Alick Shortridge, of D Coy.; he had enlisted into the 2/Yorkshires as a Boy in India in 1900, but had seen no active service before October 1914. Shortridge was, like Leatham, an athlete, but his game was rugby football, and he had spent some time attached to the Army Gymnastic staff in 1914. He was also an excellent shot (he won the regimental rifle championship at Pirbright in June 1913). He was the only man of the battalion to be killed on 22 January, and the war diary of the battalion (PRO reference WO 95/1659) recorded simply that it was a very quiet day spent improving the trenches. Poor Shortridge probably paid the price of inadvertently putting his head over the parapet, and got himself sniped.

During these early months of 1915 preparations were going on for the battle of Neuve Chapelle, and it is a grim comment on the state of the army when the battle opened in March that the anonymous battalion correspondent of the 2/Yorkshires could write: 'Before describing this fight... we must remember that *most of our men were quite untried* (my italics) and, though stiffened by our older hands, 75 per cent of our strength must have been NCOs and men from the large draft which the 3rd Battalion sent us...'. It is quite likely that by spring 1915 most regular units on the Western Front were in the same state as the 2/Yorkshires, with the majority of their strength composed of 'untried' drafts. Many Regulars had been killed, many of the wounded were never to return to active service, many more were still *hors de combat*; and even though a large number of the 3rd Bn. men would have

been reservists, they could hardly have been the equals of the highly-trained Regulars of August 1914 vintage.

Neuve Chapelle and Festubert

The battle of Neuve Chapelle cost the 2/Yorkshires three officers killed, eleven wounded and one missing; 299 NCOs and men became casualties, of whom 90 were killed, and of those 90 as many as 79 were pre-war Regulars and reservists, identifiable from their regimental numbers. One of the soldiers killed on 11 March was 7097 Pte. George Haithwaite, a single man from Keighley. From his number he enlisted sometime in early 1903, and the *Green Howards Gazette* recorded that he extended his colour service to eight years in July 1905. He had set out on 5 October 1914, and he died at the age of 40, probably one of the oldest members of the battalion.

Bertie Leatham seems to have come through Neuve Chapelle uninjured, and he remained with the battalion through a relatively quiet April. However, in May 1915 the 7th Division was employed in the battle of Festubert, a diversion for the big French attack near Arras. The 7th Division was selected to make an attack south-west of Neuve Chapelle, combining an advance eastwards from Festubert. On 11 May the Yorkshires moved up into the front line running from Prince's Road to the road running north-east of Festubert through La Quinque Rue. Desultory shelling increased over the next few days, and on 14 May Lt. Col. Alexander was killed by a shell fragment, apparently from a British shell. The battle was not a marked success: the 7th Division as a whole lost 59 officers and 647 men killed, 11 and 615 respectively missing, and 100 and 2,633 respectively wounded; the Green Howards lost six officers and 23 men killed, nine men missing, and two officers and 135 men wounded.

George Mitchell

However, for one Regular soldier Festubert provided the opportunity to win the Distinguished Conduct



The decorations of Sgt. George Mitchell, who won the Distinguished Conduct Medal while leading the 2nd Yorkshires' machine gun section at Festubert on 16 May 1915. He survived the war, though twice wounded, and later served as RSM of the 5th Battalion. His decorations are: OBE; DCM; 1914 Star; British War Medal; Allied Victory Medal; and Long Service and Good Conduct Medal.

Medal, one of only two awarded to the Yorkshires for this

action. This was 7911 Sgt. George Mitchell, who went to France on 5 October 1914 as a sergeant in A Coy. but who had spent all his time with the machine-gun section. The citation for his award read: 'For conspicuous gallantry on 16 May 1915, at Festubert. After his officer was killed, he commanded, with great efficiency, his detachment until he was himself wounded by a high explosive shell. Throughout

the campaign he has shewn untiring energy, and was responsible for the training of three machine-gun detachments. When the machine-gun officers were killed he displayed high powers of command.' Born at Retford, Notts, he enlisted at Mansfield 10 November 1904, giving his age as 18 years 1 month and his occupation as a wagon repairer. An excellent shot, he was promoted corporal 14 March

1912, and appointed lance-sergeant 17 October the same year. Recorded in the *Green Howards Gazette* as twice wounded during the war, he was promoted company sergeant major on 1 October 1915. After the war he was appointed RSM of the 5th (Territorial) Bn. of the Green

7th Division troops being transported in London omnibuses at Dickebusch: 2/Royal Warwicks, 22nd Bde. (IWM)





Lt. Col. Bertram Leatham's decorations: DSO; Queen's South Africa Medal with four battle bars (he was entitled to five); 1914-15 Star; British War Medal; and Allied Victory Medal with the oak leaf spray of his mention in despatches. The last three decorations would have been presented to his family posthumously.

Howards on 30 September 1920; was awarded his Long Service and Good Conduct medal in April 1923; and the award of the Order of the British Empire in the birthday honours of 1928 recognised his work in the reconstitution of the 5th Bn. after it had been reduced to a cadre through losses in 1918. He died at his home near Scarborough in 1946.

Once again Leatham seems to have escaped unscathed, but he must have been involved in a great deal of active service: he was mentioned in Sir John French's despatch of 31 May 1915 for gallant and distinguished service in the field, and he was created a Companion of the Distinguished Service Order on 3 June 1915 (birthday honours, no citation), being invested with the insignia by the King at Windsor Castle on 30 July. It was at this point in his career that Leatham received the distinction that, had he lived, would have started him on a successful career up the promotion ladder: he was chosen by the commander of IV Corps, Gen. H. P. Gough, to take over the task of re-forming the 2/Wiltshire Regiment.

REBUILDING THE WILTSHIRES

Like all the battalions of the 7th

Division, the 2/Wilts. had suffered very heavy casualties since First Ypres; and the 21st Brigade in particular had lost heavily in the abortive attack at Givenchy on 15 June, when the Yorkshires were detailed for the right of the attack and the Wiltshires for the left. A preliminary bombardment throughout the day failed to dislodge the Germans, much to the surprise of the battalion correspondent in the *Green Howards Gazette*: 'As soon as our heavy bombardment commenced [at 17.30] the Germans replied very violently aiming especially along our parapet, and at two minutes to six [the attack was timed for 18.00] their machine guns and rifle fire commenced. This was difficult to understand, as we thought no-one could be living in that German trench'. The result was that when the two British battalions attacked they were simply mown down. The *Green Howards'* toll was six officers and 158 men killed and missing, five officers and 250 men wounded; the Wiltshires lost four officers and 72 men killed/missing, and five officers and 128 men wounded.

One of the Yorkshiresmen killed in that attack was a veteran of the Boer War: 5997 Pte. William Albert Kaye. Born in Liversidge, Yorkshire, he had been posted to H Coy. of the 1/Yorkshire Regiment on 21 May 1899, and had fought with that unit through the Boer War, earning himself a Queen's South Africa medal with the six battle bars of Lord Roberts' campaign, and a King's South Africa medal. He transferred to

the 2nd Bn., then serving in India, in March 1902. Perhaps because, as an older man, he was employed in training, he did not go out to France with the battalion in October 1914; the Army Medal Office records that he did not arrive in the theatre of war until 20 March 1915, but gives no details other than 'Dead'.

Leatham's promotion was recorded in the *Green Howards Gazette* for August 1915: 'On the 22nd [of June], the Battalion suffered a very serious loss in that Leatham and Forsyth were both taken away to command and do second in command respectively of the 2nd Battalion The Wiltshire Regiment; both were granted the temporary rank of Major while so employed. Nobody, except those who know them well, can realise what a loss this means to the Battalion and we all hope (perhaps selfishly) that it may only be a temporary measure. They, with their Battalion, have now been away from the Brigade for nearly a month, but join up again today, I believe, by motor-bus!'

Atkinson summarised the situation perfectly: 'On battalions which had suffered as heavily as those of the 21st Brigade the strain was very great; and to convert collections of drafts, many of whom had but little training, into effective battalions needed a respite of some duration from active operations. But the brigade only got ten days' respite from the trenches. Before the end of June it was back in the line... The Wiltshires, however, who had

been particularly handicapped in reconstruction by having relatively so few Ypres wounded to return to them, were sent down to G.H.Q. for a month's training, Majors Leatham [sic] and Forsyth of the Yorkshires being transferred to them as C.O. and Adjutant'. A very interesting little book on the history of the 2/Wiltshires in the Great War, written by Maj. W. S. Sheppard MC, provides the detailed narrative for the rebuilding and re-training programme that Leatham was to undertake.

From the last week in June to 19 July the battalion was re-organising as GHQ reserve, and several officers joined. On 19 July the motor-buses took the men back to Robecq, then on to Richebourg St. Vaast with the rest of the Division. This was a quiet sector, and during the next two months battalions were gradually brought up to strength after the Givenchy losses. The Wiltshires were lucky enough to find good billets at Wizernes in July and at Les Harisoirs in August, and training was interspersed with more general exercise. A sports day was held on 13 August, and this was the climax of their stay behind the lines: next day the battalion was back in the trenches. After a short tour in the Givenchy sector later in August the 2/Wilts. moved south with the rest of the Division to the 'very battered' village of Vermelles and its surroundings. In order to create a reasonable jumping-off line for what was to be called the battle of Loos, the British front line had to be advanced some dis-

tance and prepared for the attack, and this meant that all units had to do their share of digging.

Loos

For the opening of the battle of Loos the 21st Brigade was in reserve to the attacking brigades of the 7th Division, the 20th and 22nd. Both took heavy casualties in the face of intense German artillery, machine-gun and rifle fire, particularly when they came across, and were held up by, long stretches of uncut enemy wire. Many officers in particular were killed and wounded as a result, and some of the casualty figures for the first day of Loos are reminiscent of those suffered on 1 July 1916 on the Somme. For example, the 8/Devons in 20th Brigade lost 19 officers and 620 men killed, wounded and missing, and the totals for the 2/Royal Warwicks in 22nd Brigade were 19 and 517 respectively.

The 2/Wilts. began their advance from the old British front line at about 11.30, having already taken some casualties from artillery. Forming up with two companies attacking on a two-platoon frontage, the battalion moved towards the German strongpoint of Cité St. Elie, which was unsilenced by the British artillery. As soon as the men breasted the slight rise they came in full view of the defenders, on open ground with no cover, and Sheppard wrote: 'Our lines advanced down the reverse slope, facing the fusillade, and men fell in distressing numbers... Those unhit pressed on, seeing their comrades continually falling...

and each expected himself to be the next one to fall...'. The survivors took shelter in Gun Trench, and were horrified when they looked back and saw the dead and wounded 'scattered all over the slope' behind them. It later took all night to bring in the casualties.

By early afternoon the whole of the 7th Division was held up, and the artillery could not do any serious damage to the uncut wire at Cité St. Elie. Atkinson recorded that 'Colonel Leatham [sic]... reported that an attack could only result in disaster, and, the Brigadier concurring, the assault was put off'. Towards evening the 21st Brigade was concentrated behind the right of the line, the Wiltshires in Stone Alley/Breslau Avenue; but it was not a quiet night, although the Wiltshires were not involved directly in the chaos. The events of the night did not help the British, and as far as the Wiltshires were concerned the new day was to be a disaster. Sheppard wrote: 'At dawn Colonel Leatham, taking the first opportunity as soon as the light was strong enough to examine the surroundings with his glasses, was shot in the chest and killed instantly. This was a tremendous shock to officers and men alike, who, having looked upon Colonel Leatham as a great man to have at the head of the Battalion during rest and training, were now filled with admiration for his cool courage and determination as a leader in heavy fighting'. Atkinson endorsed this view: '... on the 26th the Wiltshires lost Colonel

Leatham, a very able officer who had done great things in rebuilding the battalion after its heavy losses earlier in the year...'

His death was first reported in the *Green Howards Gazette* for October 1915: 'Among the younger men, the loss of Leatham and Thwaites is irreparable. The former has been truly described as the best officer that the Green Howards has turned out in the last forty years...' In the next month's edition of the *Gazette* his obituary reflected the esteem in which he was held by friends and colleagues. The first, personal, remarks were written by Michael Lloyd Ferrar, the historian of the Green Howards: 'The death of Lieutenant-Colonel B. H. Leatham will be deplored by all those who knew him and his loss to the Regiment for which he did so much is simply irreparable... There never was a more conscientious or hard-working officer, and his work had its reward, for he had long earned the good opinion of everyone with whom he was associated. Few had done so consistently well in the present war and a mention, the Distinguished Service Order, a brevet, and the command of another Battalion, for which he was specially selected when only a Captain, are a proof of his sterling qualities...'. The obituary went on to summarise his career, and included a letter from Gen. Gough to Leatham's widow: 'His loss is immense to the Army and our cause... In reforming and lead-

ing the Wiltshire Regiment I asked him to undertake a very hard task... What he did in so short a time for that Regiment was just grand, and the proof of his success and his great influence was shown in the unflinching gallantry displayed by that Battalion, who never wavered.'

(His obituary referred to his war service in South Africa, and described his award for that campaign as the 'Queen's South Africa Medal with 4 clasps'. This is the medal that I have, and it has quite clearly not been tampered with; yet every other obituary, and the medal roll at Kew (PRO reference WO 100/178 ff.3 & 88) shows an entitlement to five bars: the four on the medal as I have it (Cape Colony, Transvaal, South Africa 1901 and South Africa 1902) and Orange Free State. Lt. Col. Neil McIntosh MBE, the regimental secretary of the Green Howards, very kindly found me a photograph of Bertie Leatham wearing his QSA. It was just possible to identify the bars as four in number; why he never bothered to have the fifth bar affixed will probably always remain a mystery.)

MI

A peacetime Regular infantry battalion — in fact the 2/Northampton in 1908 — of eight companies; 617 all ranks on parade. In wartime a four-company establishment was created by combining pairs of companies and mobilising reservists to increase overall strength to 1,007 all ranks. Of the number of men pictured here, the 2/Yorkshires lost 67% as casualties at Givenchy on 15 June 1915 — a comparison which explains why the pre-war Regular was a rarity in the ranks by the end of the year. (Barthorp Collection)



The British Infantry of the Seven Years' War (1)

GERRY EMBLETON &
PHILIP HAYTHORNTHWAITE
Paintings by GERRY EMBLETON

The British infantry were one of the most effective forces of the mid-18th century; yet despite their participation in some of the great epics of the period like Minden and Quebec, much about their uniform, equipment and even history is difficult to ascertain, and some facts are simply unknown.

Based upon contemporary material, this series of three articles cannot, by virtue of its length, present every known fact about each of the 120-odd regiments which existed during the period; but offers a basic picture in which the emphasis has been placed upon facts which illuminate the subject as a whole. Whilst concentrating upon the Seven Years' War, uniform coverage has been taken from the adoption of the measures specified in the 1751 Clothing Warrant, until the infantry's appearance was altered considerably in the 1768 Warrant. Provincial and auxiliary corps are not included; and Highland regiments and Rangers are reserved for Part 3.

COMPOSITION

At the beginning of the period under review there existed three regiments of Foot Guards and 49 of the line — a number which more than doubled by the end of the Seven Years' War, and was reduced to 70 by the end of the period. This rapid expansion was achieved by the recruiting of new regiments and by the conversion to new line regiments of second battalions of existing corps, Invalid regiments and Independent Companies. Despite the high reputation of the infantry in general, this expansion produced a number of ineffectual regiments. The 100th Foot (Campbell's Highlanders) was an example, several times being reported as unfit for service and composed largely of young boys and old men. When stationed in Jersey its paymaster's office was robbed of £1,100 and

set afire; and in 1762 it lost its colonel after he killed one of his own officers, who had embezzled his company's funds and reduced his men to begging in the streets. (Col. Campbell was tried for murder but escaped from Jersey; irregularities in the conduct of his court-martial prevented its proceedings from being confirmed).

The usual organization was for a battalion to comprise nine companies, including one of grenadiers, with the company of the senior captain acting as the second flank company — light infantry companies not yet being officially part of each battalion. The strength of a battalion depended upon circumstances, about 850 of all ranks being about full strength; on service, the number might be half this figure. There were many exceptions: battalions might possess fewer companies (the 80th was raised with a strength of five companies); might serve with companies detached; or might have an establishment larger than usual (the 77th was raised with 13 companies, 1,460 men plus officers). When 15 regiments received second battalions by Royal Warrant of 25 August 1757, each was to comprise 780 men.

Similarly, no general rule governed the type of men enlisted; some units had a greater proportion of young soldiers than others, and some were described as unusually under-sized, but the general impression gained from the statistics which are available is that the men were quite young and not of very imposing

physique. In 1769, for example, the 38th had 14% under 5ft. 6in. tall, and a high proportion of the remainder 5ft. 7in. or less; around 80% were under the age of thirty. (The comment on this regiment, nonetheless, was that these men were 'of good size'; not until 1772, when 26% were under 5ft. 6in. did the inspectors report the personnel 'indifferent and undersized' (1)).

Although regiments were numbered, they were often known by the name of their colonel; thus confusion can arise when colonels changed regiments (e.g. until 1752 Maule's Regt. was the 25th, then the 21st when he changed commands). Some colonels

kept their regiments for decades (e.g. Otway of the 35th, for 47 years); others changed rapidly — in the period under review the 38th had six colonels, while Andrew Robinson held the colonelcy of the 45th for some six weeks. (Because of the use of the colonel's name to identify regiments, brief details of colonels are given in the regimental lists which follow in Part 2 of this series.)

Corporal Jones, 13th Foot, as depicted by Lt. William Baillie of that regiment in 1753: a valuable study of the uniform of a battalion company man to complement the grenadier shown by Morier (with pointed loops — Baillie shows them square). (Trustees of the Light Infantry Museum, Taunton)



UNIFORM AND EQUIPMENT

Sources of information on uniform are not excessive. Officers' uniforms are shown in contemporary portraits, but few illustrations of the rank and file may be classified as 'eye-witness'. The most significant is the series of illustrations painted by the Swiss artist David Morier at the behest of the Duke of Cumberland, depicting a grenadier of each regiment dressed according to the 1751 Warrant. (It is unlikely that Morier painted each man from life, but he may have used a pattern uniform instead — which perhaps raises a slight doubt over the accuracy of por-

Right:

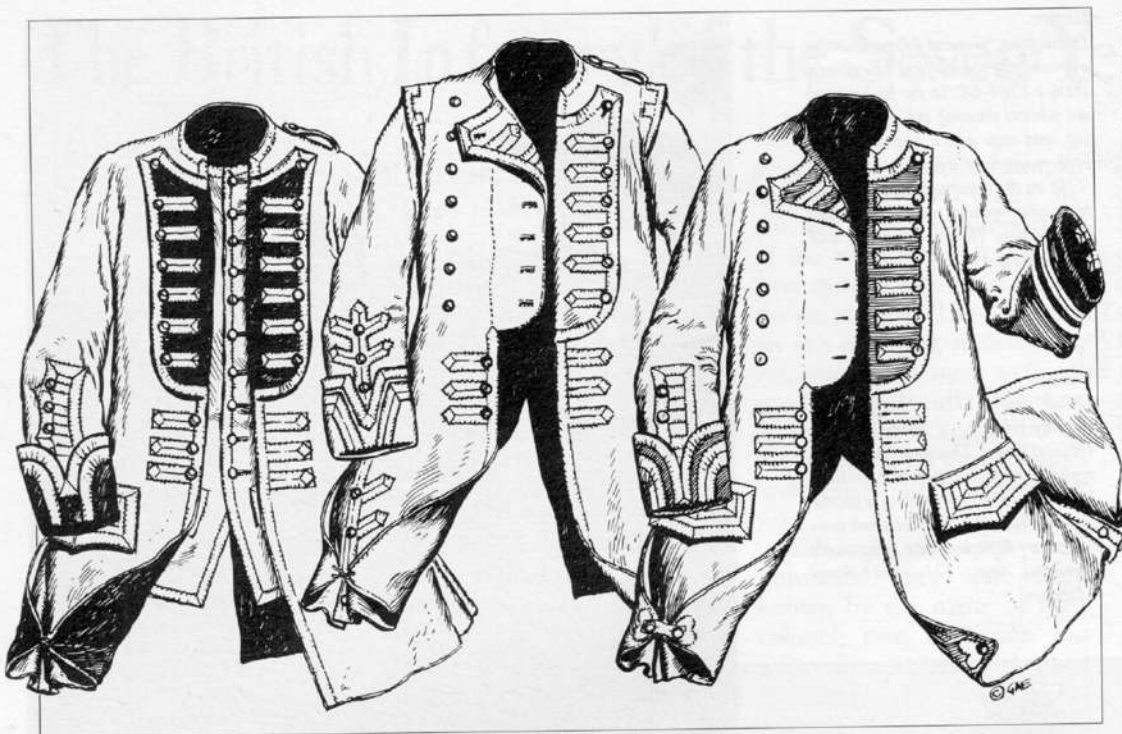
Detail from 'General Johnson saving a wounded French officer': Benjamin West, c.1764-68. In the background are soldiers wearing cut-down clothing, and caps which appear to have been made from tricorn hats bearing 'GR' on the upturned front flap — a rare contemporary depiction of this modification. (Derby Museums and Art Gallery)



Below:

Detail from 'The Marquess of Granby relieving a sick soldier' by Edward Penny. This shows a redcoat's typical campaign appearance, including the bayonet belt worn as a second shoulder belt; and provides a rare contemporary depiction of the gaiters with reinforced tops. (National Army Museum)





Infantry coats, after Morier. These sketches show different styles of cuff and lace, including those of the 1st Foot Guards (left), and the 'tree'-shaped sleeve and skirt lace as worn by the 5th Foot (centre). Not all grenadiers wore wings in 1751, when Morier seems to have made his paintings. (Gerry Embleton)

trayal of items like swords, of which a variety of patterns are shown.) Illustrations of battalion company men are fewer, so that the two engravings and one watercolour of members of the 13th produced by the regiment's Lt. William Baillie in 1753 are of great value. Army Lists and the like provide details of facing colours, but these are not infallible (e.g. that of 1760 which indicates white facings for the 85th, when it is certain that blue were worn). Interesting details are recorded in the Inspection Returns; and although campaign modifications are shown in few illustrations, some are described by contemporary witnesses or in regimental order books.

The 1751 Clothing Warrant and successive orders were not so precise as to fix exactly the uniform of each regiment; the colonel, responsible for the purchase of clothing and equipment, was thus allowed considerable latitude. It was possible, therefore, for uniform distinctions to be so ephemeral as to be changed with every new set of clothing; for example, in 1755 the

inspecting officer commented upon a non-regulation aspect of the officers' sleeves of the 15th, which had been eliminated by the following year.

The coat

The coat was a voluminous garment designed to act as much as an overcoat as a dress uniform; for the rank and file it was 'red', usually a darker shade than the scarlet worn by the officers and sergeants. Its long skirts were customarily turned back off the legs, and according to specifications in the 12th's Order Book of 1761 ⁽²⁾ were to be neither too short nor too long, but to hang so as to reveal the buckle at the knee-band of the breeches; and to be equipped with red heart-shaped patches and a double loop of red cloth to hook back the turnbacks. Bennett Cuthbertson's *A System for the Compleat Interior Management and O economy of a Battalion of Infantry* (Dublin 1768) notes that turnbacks should only be unhooked and the skirts let down for duty at night and for warmth in bivouac. The coat lining, visible as turnbacks, was not necessarily the same colour as the lapels and cuffs, but usually all these were in the regimental facing colour. The deep, upturned cuff had a red flap and buttons vertically up the sleeve. The lapels could be worn turned back, exposing the waistcoat, or buttoned

across the breast for marching order, in which case the waist belt was worn over the coat, instead of under it when the lapels were folded back.

The collar was generally very low and no more than an extension of the body of the coat — according to the 12th's book, only so high as to cover the stock buckle, to lay smooth and not wrinkle; but the later folding collar was beginning to be introduced, and is shown in portraits perhaps as early as 1760, for example for the North Yorkshire Militia. A red shoulder strap, worn in a straight line along the top of the shoulder according to the 12th's book, was born by many regiments; and some grenadiers wore wings on the shoulders. The coat was bound with tape or lace on the edges of the lapels, collar, cuffs, flaps and pockets, and in loops on the buttonholes; this was of regimental patterns, and formed both a decoration and a reinforcement for the cloth. The regimental pattern was not constant: apparently only the Foot Guards and 7th Foot had the same lace in the 1768 Warrant as in 1751. It was originally intended that each regiment would have distinctive lace; thus in 1751 the 8th was ordered to change its pattern, which was almost identical to that of the 4th.

Such was the latitude given

to colonels that in 1767 the 58th had no coat-skirts at all, doubtless a great saving of expense! Buttons were plain white metal; numbers were not added until a General Order of 21 September 1767. (Some regiments are later recorded as having yellow buttons, though in some cases this may have referred to officers.)

Waistcoat, breeches and shirt

Beneath the coat was worn a waistcoat, generally made from the previous year's coat, and laced on the edges and sometimes looped across the breast. The 12th's book stated that it was to extend to the lower button of the shirt neck and to have a long waist, the bottom of the pocket to reach to within four inches of the upper button on the side of the breeches, with 11 buttons on the breast for front-rank men and 10 for the remainder (the tallest men usually being put into the front rank). Cuthbertson stated that the use of white waistcoats would prevent the expense of converting the previous year's coat, and although the men would have to buy their own white waistcoat, they would gain financially as an old coat would easily sell for four or five shillings.

The breeches were ordered to cover the kneecap, to be wide rather than tight on the thighs, and to have as high a waistband as possible. Although it was usual for regiments with blue facings to have blue breeches, this was not universal. Indeed, although the 1st Foot Guards were ordered (1750-51) to wear blue breeches when under arms and red breeches at other times, in 1749 the 2nd Foot Guards were ordered to make up the previous year's coats into red breeches for those whose breeches were worn out; so, with officers ordered to wear buff waistcoat and breeches on duty, it might have been possible for the regiment to have assembled wearing three colours of breeches. (Officers' breeches not matching those of the men was not uncommon: in 1755 the 7th's officers wore buff, the men red, as had the 66th in 1759.) Cuthbertson complained that the red



Left:

Another drawing of Cpl. Jones of the 13th, showing him loading his musket; drawn (and later engraved) by Lt. William Baillie, under whom Jones served with a recruiting party at Worcester, 1753. (Trustees of the British Museum)

Thomas Sandby painted the 2nd Foot Guards 'in the Allied Army' in 1747 he showed white stockings instead of gaiters; and in 1744 a regimental order for a review specified 'the men to be in their regimental stockings, but without gaiters' (5).

Headdress

Battalion companies wore the tricorn hat, cocked in a style reasonably universal but which included such regimental peculiarities as that of the 85th, and the 63rd's hat which in 1767 were described as 'too much in the French taste'. For tropical service a 'bladder' or leather pad might be inserted between the crown of the hat and the lining as a guard against the sun; and the 12th's book notes that a piece of strong sole-leather was to be affixed to the inside of the hat close to the edge and stitched down, perhaps to reinforce the 'cock'. Cuthbertson mentions the use of a piece of whalebone for this purpose, to prevent the front corner being squeezed flat. He further recommended a piece of black tape to be sewn to the underside of the hat to be aligned with the wearer's nose, to ensure that the hat sat at the correct angle; and for two tapes as near the colour of the wearer's hair as possible to be sewn to the lining to hold the hat on by passing under the queue.

The edges of the hat were usually laced (Cuthbertson recommended linen as an alternative to the glossy but more expensive mohair; woollen lace soon became yellow, he said). The hat-lace led to a change in the manner of saluting: as noted in the orders of the 1st Bn., 1st Foot in 1762, 'As nothing disfigures the hats or dirties the lace more than taking off the hats, the men are only to raise the back of their hands to them with a brisk motion when they pass an Officer' (6). The black cockade was held by a loop of lace, which Cuthbertson recommended should be about a fin-

Captions to colour plates overleaf:

Soldiers of the (left) 40th and (right) 45th Foot. The corporal of the 40th, distinguished by his shoulder knot, wears his breeches over the top of his gaiters, a fashion forbidden by regulations. The private of the 45th has the colourful regimental lace, with green stripe and stars, and gaiters with reinforced tops. Both carry unshaven hide knapsacks, fabric haversacks, and tin canteens; and both wear the bayonet belt as a second shoulder belt rather than around the waist. The 45th man has the additional cartridge box (see text) worn on a strap round the waist. (Gerry Embleton).

Right:

Infantrymen in the North American winter. **Left:** Private, 48th Foot, wearing a reconstruction of the stocking-type forage cap; a coat with the lapels fastened across for warmth; and leggings. He is putting on a captured French regimental coat for additional protection. **Centre:** A man wearing a typical 'blanket coat', improvised footwear, and a field sign in his hat — a sprig of green conifer. **Right:** Grenadier sergeant, 43rd Foot, wearing the remains of his coat; his sash of rank; a grenadier's shoulder belt with matchcase; and an additional cartridge box on a waist strap. His fur cap is privately acquired. He wears knitted stockings over his gaiters and shoes, and has 'creepers' strapped to his soles to give grip on icy ground. In the foreground lies equipment including a cartridge box with a badge similar to an item excavated at Ticonderoga. In the background are infantrymen in watchcoats, and an officer wearing a cape over his greatcoat — appearing, according to Knox, 'as droll and grotesque' as Croatian irregulars. (Gerry Embleton)

breeches soon changed to a 'sooty brick-colour'.

Shirts were normally white, though checked shirts for service are recorded, e.g. for the 42nd in 1759. Cuthbertson noted that those normally supplied were so bad that they had to be taken to pieces and reconstructed, with a two-inch ruffle at the breast and a half-inch ruffle at the wrist; cheap linen, he noted, was a false economy. Stocks were black, Cuthbertson noting that each man should have a horse-hair stock for common use and for dress one of Manchester velvet; a scarlet edging, he said, added much to the smartness.

Gaiters

Sturdy gaiters, strapped under the foot, were worn on most occasions — black, brown or grey 'marching gaiters' for service and white for dress, but these were not always possessed by regiments. In 1763, for example, it was noted that the 23rd had no white gaiters and had never used them in Germany. On 22 September 1767 it was ordered that 'His Majesty's regiments of Foot do

lay aside their white gaiters, and have black gaiters for the future'. Changes are recorded in regimental orders: for example, the brown cloth gaiters with black buttons ordered 'to be worn only on detachments and out-parties' by the 2nd Foot Guards in March 1749 were ordered to be blackened in January 1759, 'and tops put on them' (3). A Morier painting (4), perhaps showing the 39th, shows what are presumably these marching gaiters, lower than the white, with reinforced tops lower at the back than the front. Cuthbertson described the knee-pieces as a stiff leather top which covered the front of the knee-cap, which apparently appear in Penney's picture of the Marquess of Granby. Cuthbertson recommended grey linen for marching gaiters, and buttons without shanks, which were uncomfortable when a soldier lay down.

Gaiters were not always worn, certainly not by officers: in the 2nd Foot Guards, for example, they were ordered to wear boots when the men wore marching gaiters. When

ger's breadth to show sufficiently well.

Grenadiers retained the cloth mitre cap, despite its being of limited use; as Hawley remarked in 1736, it was handsome but caused the wearer much suffering from rain, cold and sun (7). The 1751 Warrant described it: 'The front... to be the same Colour as the facing of the Regiment, with the King's Cypher embroidered, and Crown over it; the little Flap to be red, with the White Horse and Motto over it, 'Nec aspera terrent'; the back part of the cap to be Red; the turn-up to be the Colour of the Front, with the Number of the Regiment in the middle part behind...', although royal regiments and the 'Six Old Corps'





bore their distinctive badges on the front instead.

The design of embroidery varied between regiments, officers' caps including elaborate designs; much embroidery was often present on the headband ('turn-up') at the rear, often featuring grenades and weapons in addition to the usual number and foliate embroidery. The 'little Flap' was the upturned panel at the front. The Morier paintings show the frontal 'GR' and scroll-design in white, with a crown above in proper colours, but the cypher is green for the 24th, 30th, 37th, 38th and 48th; blue for the 28th, 29th, 34th and 43rd; black for the 40th, 44th and 47th; and red for the 16th and 32nd.

At the top of the cap was a grenade-shaped tuft, which Morier shows as mixed white and the facing colour, except for: white with red centre, Foot Guards; white for 1st, 5th, 15th, 20th, 23rd, 25th-27th, 31st and 34th; blue and white 43rd; green and white 17th; brown and white 32nd; black and white 40th and 47th; red, green and white 2nd; red, white and buff 3rd and 14th; green, buff and white 37th; red, blue, yellow and white 46th.

Fur caps were the authorized headdress for grenadiers of the 42nd, but came into use in other regiments before their official sanction in 1768; the 30th had them as early as 1755 (and drummers, white bearskin caps), and by the mid-1760s the 13th, 14th, 20th, 25th and 33rd all had black bearskins for grenadiers, and white ones for drummers of the 13th and 14th.

Considerable use was made of the *Feldzeichen* or 'field-sign', the recognition symbol pre-dating the existence of national uniforms. In September 1760 Knox of the 43rd recorded that one of the preparations for a march was to mount a 'bough' in the hat; and included in the Foot Guards order books of 1761 is a note that for the King's birthday an oak-bough was to be mounted on the hats and Colours.

Equipment

Equipment was made of buff-leather, initially allowed to retain its natural colour, but

occasionally blackened or more often whitened (e.g. for the 23rd in 1764). Over the left shoulder was carried the cartouche or cartridge box on a leather belt, the box usually containing a wooden block drilled to accommodate cartridges, with the flap (generally blackened) sometimes bearing a badge. Foot Guards retained a brass crowned 'GR' on their flaps; and excavated at Ticonderoga were a cast brass oval bearing 'GR' engraved in script, and another cast iron, voided, conjoined 'GR'.

For grenadiers, the front of the belt featured a brass match-case, a purely decorative relic since the abandonment of the grenade as a weapon. The sword and bayonet frogs were carried on the waistbelt; both belts had metal buckles, which Cuthbertson recommended should have rounded corners and copper prongs which could be bent over, so as not to damage the leather or the owner's fingers. Grenadiers wore an additional small pouch on belts around the waist, on top of the ordinary waistbelt, which could be used by others on campaign; but Cuthbertson described these as inconvenient at exercise and 'productive of mischief and confusion, by blowing up'.

The design of equipment was not standard and could vary even within the same regiment. In 1754 the 33rd were reported as possessing cartouche boxes of different sizes, accommodating 9 to 18 or 10 to 23 rounds; shoulderbelts $3\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide (other belts in their possession were an inch narrower, and regarded as unacceptable); and waistbelts were $2\frac{3}{4}$ or $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. wide.

Equipment remained in use for years; in 1769, for example, the 57th were using belts and sergeants' sashes supplied in 1756. A complaint probably not unique was noted for the 47th in 1768: that their pouches were worn so far behind the

Detail from an engraving by T. E. Nicholson of Hogarth's 'March of the Guards Towards Scotland', executed in 1750. This includes a unique depiction of a pioneer wearing a stocking cap (centre foreground, kneeling behind drunken soldier).

Table: Prices of uniform and equipment

(A) Official prices from Parliamentary Commission report on Land Forces, 1746

(B) Items lost by 1st Bn., 2nd Foot Guards in expedition to French coast, 1758

	Sergeant	Corporal	Drummer	Private	Other Rank	Sergeant
Hat	10/6	2/6	2/6	2/6	10/-	—
Coat/breeches	£3/10/-	£1/5/-	£2/10/-	£1/5/-	—	—
Coat	—	—	—	—	£1/2/6	£4/4-
Breeches	—	—	—	—	5/-	10/-
Shirt/Roller	5/9	3/8	3/8	3/8	5/6	7/-
Stockings	3/-	1/2	1/2	1/2	2/6	—
Shoes	3/6	3/6	3/6	3/6	5/-	5/6
Ming preceding year's coat into waistcoat	2/6	1/-	1/-	1/-	—	—
Waistcoat	—	—	—	—	7/-	£1/1-
Sash	5/-	—	—	—	—	10/-
Shoulder-knot	—	1/6	—	—	—	—
Belt/Slings	—	—	10/-	—	—	—
For Grenadier caps more than hats	20/-	7/-	7/-	7/-	—	—
Caps [forage?]	—	—	—	—	7/-	—
Brown gaiters	—	—	—	—	2/8	2/8
Sword	—	—	—	—	5/2	£1/10/-
Shoulder-belt	—	—	—	—	11/-	—
Waistbelt	—	—	—	—	4/6	—
Sling	—	—	—	—	1/9	—
Knapsack	—	—	—	—	2/6	—
Haversack	—	—	—	—	1/-	—
Canteen	—	—	—	—	1/6	—
Cartridge-box	—	—	—	—	6/-	—
Sword-belt	—	—	—	—	—	10/-

hip that in order to have them available, men had to take out a handful of cartridges and tuck them between waistbelt and clothing. The practice of wearing the waistbelt over the right shoulder, which became universal from the early 1770s, is shown as early as 1751 in Morier's picture of the 49th.

Other items of equipment included a hide knapsack (to contain clothing), a canvas haversack at the right side (with six days' provisions), and a tin canteen on a cord. Lt. Alexander Baillie of the 1st Bn.,

60th Foot noted that the knapsack should contain two shirts, two stocks, two pairs stockings, a pair of summer breeches, a pair of shoes, a pair of shoe brushes, a clothes brush, a black ball (i.e. shoe blacking), a pair of leggings and garters, a handkerchief, two combs, a knife and a spoon. The total weight, including 11lbs. 1oz. for the musket and 10lbs. 1oz. for provisions, was 63lbs. 3oz. (This equipment was not universal: in the 17th in 1767, for example, one clothes brush was shared by every eight men; and



every four men were equipped with three shoe brushes between them, one for brushing off the dirt, one for applying blacking, and one for polishing). Nevertheless, the burden was such that many efforts were made to lighten the load on campaign, by discarding the heavier items and swords.

Swords

Until the Warrant of 1768 all ranks were supposed to carry swords, despite the recognition that they were of little use: Hawley noted in 1726 that they were never used in action, were cumbersome in drill, rattled almost as much as the old bandoliers, and were dangerous when used in drunken quarrels. As part of the regimental 'off-reckonings', swords were purchased by each colonel, resulting in a variety of patterns. The two commonest styles are known by the appellations of 1742 and 1751 patterns (neither being official designations); both were brass-hilted, the former with a single knucklebow and the latter a triple-bar guard; both had sturdy, slightly curved blades. Even within a company, however, varieties might exist, e.g. the 33rd's grenadiers in 1754, whose swords were described as 'of different kinds and unserviceable'.

By the middle of the period under review it seems to have been sufficiently unusual for battalion companies to carry swords that inspectors remarked when they did, for example the 31st and 56th in 1758. Others had no swords at all, for example the 47th in 1767 (but their grenadiers' swords were ordered); or the 48th in the same year, which possessed only 39 swords (for drummers and sergeants only?).

The diversity of patterns carried by grenadiers is evident from the Morier paintings — provided that he recorded those actually carried by the regiment (see earlier comment). The commonest is a full basket hilt made of iron bars; the '1742 pattern' is shown for the 7th and 8th; the '1751 pattern' for the 3rd Foot Guards, 10th, 18th, 20th, 24th, 32nd and 35th; swords with knucklebow plus extra bar for

the 2nd, 3rd, 18th, 23rd, 41st and 44th; with a semi-basket hilt for the 1st Foot Guards and 9th; and with a full basket hilt of pierced sheet metal for the 5th, 6th, 14th and 15th. Scarcely two examples in any of the above categories appear identical. Among surviving regimental patterns, the 23rd at one time had a '1742 pattern' hanger with a cast grip bearing the crowned Prince of Wales' plumes and motto 'Ich Dien'; and a similar device appears on the brass grip of a grenadier sabre which has a basket hilt of narrow S-shaped iron bars.

Cuthbertson remarks that although in 'the late war' most regiments had discarded their swords, grenadiers were still encumbered; yet recommended that when walking-out all men should carry a bayonet, to prevent them being 'reduced to a level with the vilest plebian'.

Muskets

The variety of 'Brown Bess' musket styled the 'Long Land Pattern' remained the standard arm throughout the period, and although old weapons

remained in use, brass furniture on new muskets had probably supplanted the earlier iron fittings by 1736. The most obvious changes were adopted initially at regimental level, in the reduction of the 46in. barrel to a more convenient 42 inches; in 1759, for example, the 42nd spent £48 13s. cutting short their muskets in accordance with Gen. Abercrombie's orders. Steel ramrods had been introduced as early as 1724, but the old wooden type remained in use for half a century; a mixture of the two were even found within a single regiment, as remarked with the 23rd in 1757.

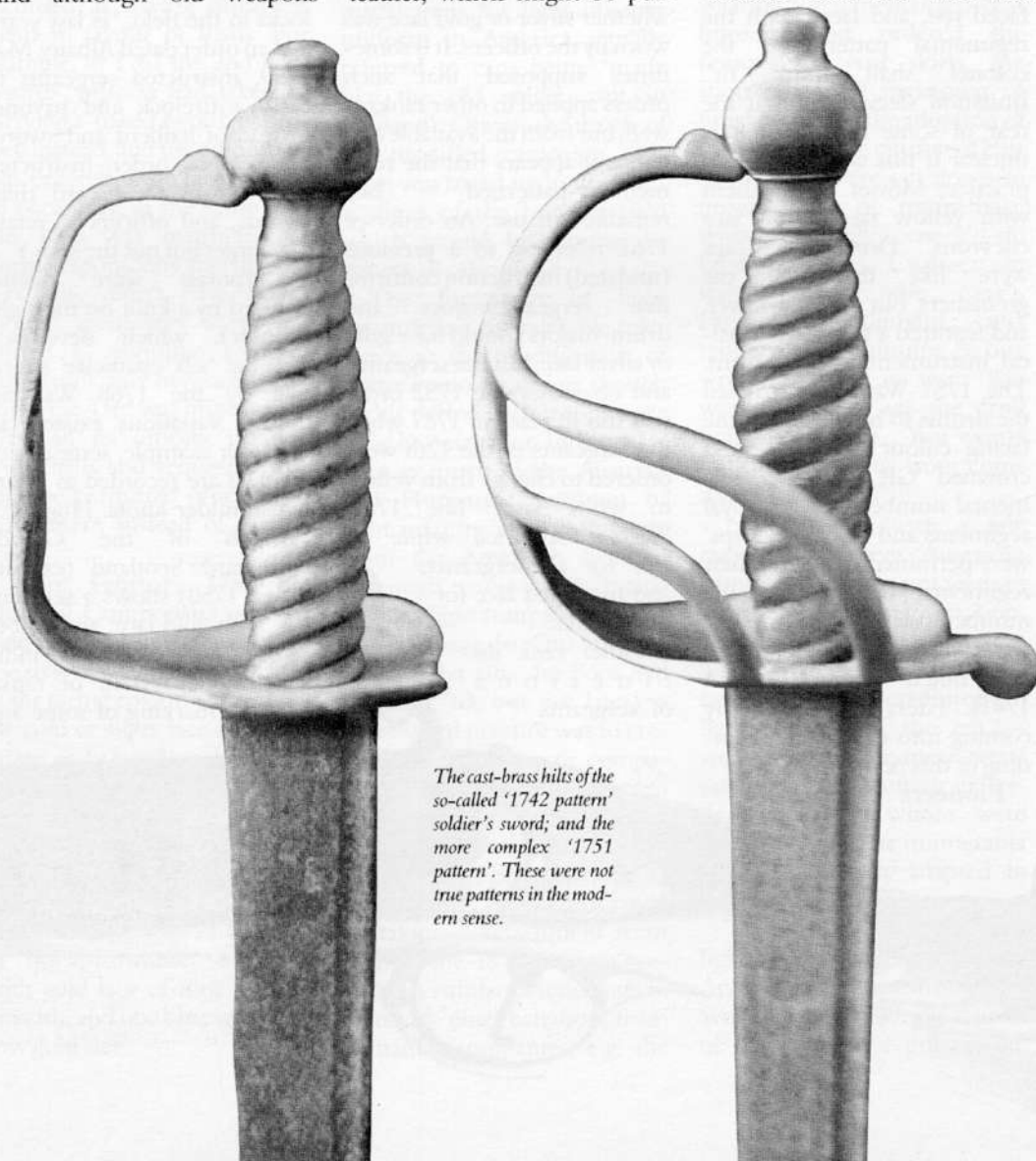
Lighter fusils or carbines were carried by light infantry, and even a small number of rifled weapons; but in addition to these adaptations for special needs, shortages of the regulation pattern resulted in the issue of sub-standard foreign muskets, such as the worn-out Dutch weapons issued to Pepperell's Regiment.

Musket slings were of buff-leather, which might be pur-

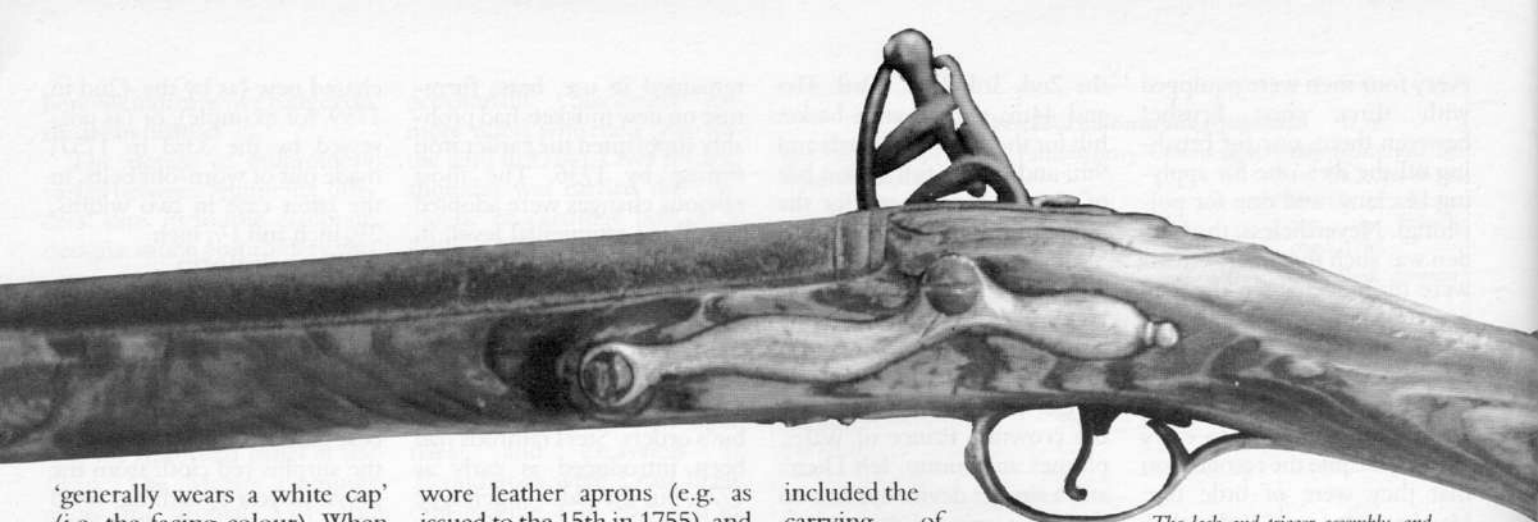
chased new (as by the 42nd in 1759, for example), or (as possessed by the 33rd in 1757) made out of worn-out belts, in the latter case in two widths, 2 1/8 inch and 1 1/4 inch.

Undress uniform

There is little pictorial evidence of the fatigue or undress uniform, though there is some evidence of stocking caps. Cuthbertson described the best fatigue cap as made from the surplus red cloth from the previous year's clothing, lined with coarse linen and turned up in front with a stiff, facing-coloured flap, with a neck flap which could be lowered in inclement weather; it was to be used on night duty and fatigues, to prevent wear to the hat. Descriptions of deserters from the 35th (in the *New York Mercury*, August 1761) note brown fatigue jackets with lapels, a 'fallen' collar, and 'white metal buttons bearing the impression of a New York shilling'; whilst a similar description in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 8 April 1756, records a deserter from the 47th who



The cast-brass hilts of the so-called '1742 pattern' soldier's sword; and the more complex '1751 pattern'. These were not true patterns in the modern sense.



The lock and trigger assembly, and characteristic convex brass sideplate, of a Long Land pattern musket; this example is dated 1748.

'generally wears a white cap' (i.e. the facing-colour). When troops were aboard ship it was usual to wear the coat inside-out, to avoid staining by pitch or tar; Knox of the 43rd notes that in 1757 his regiment so dressed were mistaken for Frenchmen, their white linings having the appearance of white coats.

Drummers

The 1751 Warrant noted that drummers of 'royal' regiments were allowed to wear royal livery, red with blue facings and 'royal' lace (blue and yellow); other regiments had drummers' coats of the facing colour, faced red, and laced with the regimental pattern 'as the colonel shall think fit'. Imitation sleeves hung at the rear of some coats, but it is unclear if this was a universal practice; Morier shows them with yellow tassels and lace chevrons. Drummers' caps were like those of the grenadiers but slightly lower, and featured a trophy of musical instruments on the front. The 1751 Warrant instructed the drums to be painted in the facing colour and to bear a crowned 'GR' over the regimental number, but the royal regiments and 'Six Old Corps' were permitted to display their regimental badges over the number instead. Drum-majors appear to have had silver lace (e.g. noted for the 13th in 1741). Fifers were gradually coming into use at the beginning of this period.

Pioneers normally

wore leather aprons (e.g. as issued to the 15th in 1755), and probably distinctive headdress; Hogarth's 'March of the Guards...' shows a pioneer wearing a red stocking cap with a white tassel on the end, and a blue headband bearing a white saw and mattock motif.

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

Sergeants wore a uniform similar to that of the other ranks, but generally in scarlet cloth. In December 1752 it was ordered that sergeants should have 'white or yellow buttons and holes' (i.e. lace) according to whether silver or gold lace was worn by the officers. It is sometimes supposed that such orders applied to other ranks as well, but from the available evidence it appears that the regimentally-patterned lace remained in use. An order of 1761 referring to a previous (undated) instruction confirms that sergeant-majors and drum-majors should have gold or silver lace, but not sergeants; and obviously the 1752 order was still in place in 1767 when the sergeants of the 12th were ordered to change from yellow to white lace. The 1768 Warrant specified white lace for all sergeants, and patterned lace for other ranks.

Other rank distinctions of sergeants

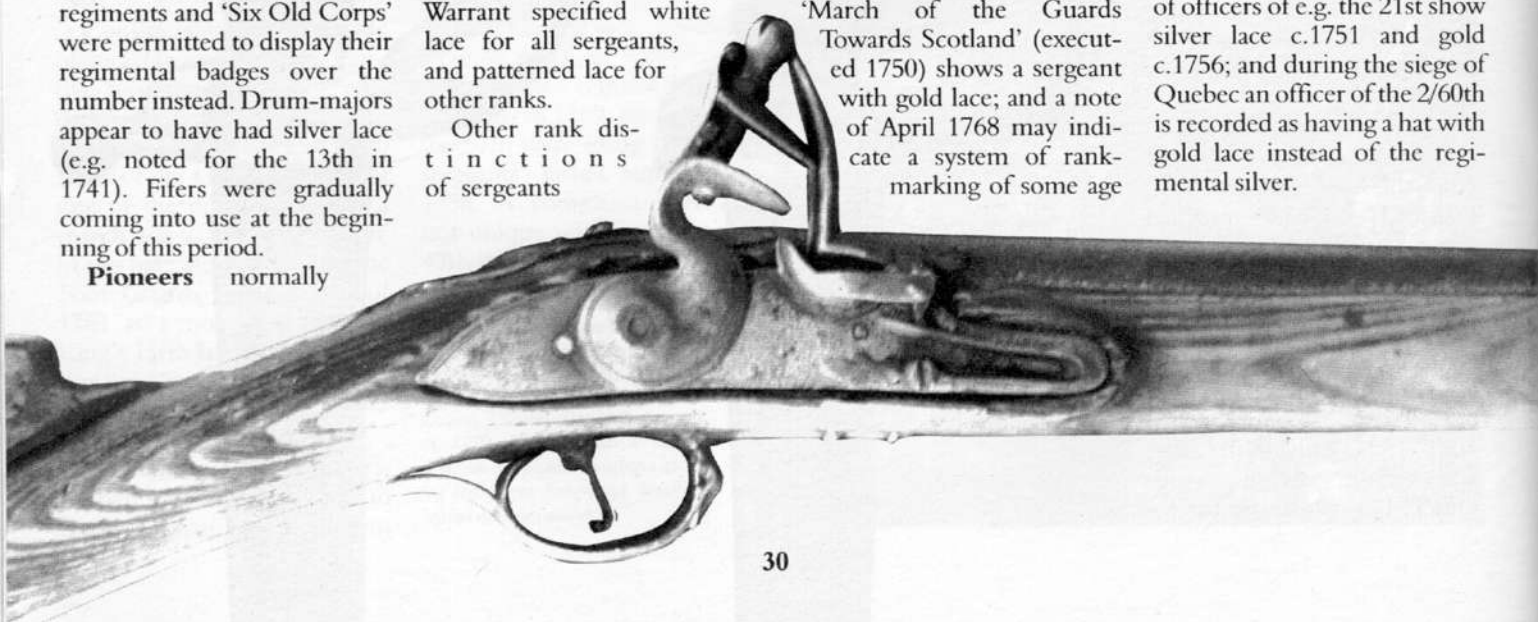
included the carrying of swords (which Cuthbertson said should be better and longer than those of the other ranks to emphasize rank, but not silver-mounted as any loss would be a severe financial burden on a sergeant); and a crimson waist sash with a central stripe of the facing-colour. Instead of a musket, sergeants carried a halberd, but this unwieldy weapon was sometimes replaced on campaign; in the 42nd's Order Book of 1759, for example, is a note that sergeants were to carry firelocks in the field, 'as last year', and an order dated Albany, May 1759, instructed sergeants to carry a firelock and bayonet instead of halberd and sword. (The same order instructed other ranks to discard their swords, and officers to retain the gorget but not the sash.)

Corporals were distinguished by a knot on the right shoulder, which developed into the 'silk epaulette' specified by the 1768 Warrant, though variations existed; in 1733, for example, sergeants of the 31st are recorded as wearing shoulder knots. Hogarth's 'March of the Guards Towards Scotland' (executed 1750) shows a sergeant with gold lace; and a note of April 1768 may indicate a system of rank-marking of some age

within the Foot Guards — gold lace for sergeants, silver lace for corporals on collar and cuffs (but regimental white lace elsewhere), two epaulettes being worn by grenadiers but only by NCOs in other companies, with gold fringe for sergeants and silver for corporals.

OFFICERS

Officers' uniforms were similar to those of the other ranks but in much superior materials, of scarlet with regimental facings, metallic lace and gilt or silver buttons, the latter either plain or bearing a pattern, such as imitation basket-weave. The style of lacing varied between regiments and dates: some had laced button-loops, some lace binding around the facings, and some both; and for active service unlaced garments might be worn. (The lace binding was ordered to be removed in 1764, leaving this a distinction of Foot Guards officers only). The lace was not always of a constant colour. Portraits of officers of e.g. the 21st show silver lace c.1751 and gold c.1756; and during the siege of Quebec an officer of the 2/60th is recorded as having a hat with gold lace instead of the regimental silver.



Although the folding collar was beginning to make an appearance by the early 1760s, other distinctions included facing-coloured collar patches, as worn by the 21st, for example. Other rank distinctions included the carrying of a sword from a waistbelt, different legwear (e.g. boots instead of marching gaiters as noted above), the gorget (generally in the colour of the lace) worn at the neck, and a crimson sash over the right shoulder (not until 1768 was it worn around the waist, although in 1748 grenadier officers of the 1st Foot Guards were ordered to wear the sash around the waist, under the coat, and swordbelts under the waistcoat).

Some regiments used shoulder knots, which evolved into epaulettes (which terms were interchangeable at this period, so the exact pattern implied by a written reference is often unclear). Epaulettes were specified by the 1768 Warrant but had evolved before that date: e.g. Reynolds' portrait of William Amherst as captain of the 1st Foot Guards, 1760, shows a laced epaulette strap and long fringe. The shoulder knot was generally an aiguillette worn at the rear of the right shoulder; gold knots of this type are recorded for e.g. the 31st in 1730, but were not universal (as late as 1768 the 47th wore no epaulettes or knots).

There are several references to the use of civilian overcoats on campaign. Blue coats are mentioned several times in respect of the Foot Guards; in June 1761 Capt. Arthur Owen of the 3rd Guards lost a blue greatcoat with brass buttons, and the following May a deserter stole from a Guards officer 'a blue surtout coat with a blue velvet cape and basket buttons' as well as a scarlet waistcoat with blue lapels, double pockets and gold lace⁽⁸⁾. Blue coats were not unique to the Foot Guards: for example, deserters from the 40th and 62nd (later 60th) in 1756-57 took with them 'blue surtout coats'. The use of such non-regulation clothing is not surprising, given the latitude adopted by some: at Dettingen George II had worn the old red coat he had used when serving under

Marlborough, at Minden Sackville wore the coat he had used at Fontenoy, and one officer during the Seven Years' War actually wore a buff-coat, as common in the previous century (this was Col. Preston of the Scots Greys).

There was no prescribed pattern of sword. For active service, robust weapons may have been carried in addition to the ordinary *épée* style: the portrait of William Amherst shows a hanger with a sturdy blade and a hilt similar to the '1742 pattern'. Grenadier officers carried light muskets (fusils or 'fuzes') and cartridge boxes, although when the grenadiers of the 1st Foot Guards appeared so equipped for a review in 1749 it was noted that this was only the 'custom of these corps abroad'⁽⁹⁾. All other officers were supposed to carry an *espontoon* or half-pike (even the colonel: in 1767 the 13th paid 13s. 6d. for an *espontoon* for the Duke of Gloucester, appointed colonel the year before). They were never popular and a number of units are recorded as having discarded them in favour of fusils. For example, in 1761 the 2nd Foot Guards' officers had taken to carrying a 'naked sword' or firelock instead, and the *espontoon* was ordered to be restored for all occasions; in the same year the 12th was instructed to obtain *espontoons* for all officers who didn't have them) though grenadiers were permitted to continue carrying their fusils and bayonets), and when the 43rd was inspected in 1764 all its officers paraded with fusils and requested that they be permitted officially to carry them instead of *espontoons*.

From February 1752 the Duke of Cumberland ordered field officers and adjutants to use shabraques and holster caps of the facing colour, with a double gold or silver lace as appropriate, and a tassel on shabraque and caps for field officers. These rules were obviously not universal: for example, in September 1761 Lt. Col. Robert Boyd of the 1st Foot Guards was robbed of two sets of horse-furniture, one red with gold lace of four fingers' breadth, and one blue with narrow gold lace.

CAMPAIGN DRESS

Modifications for use on campaign varied from the simple expedient of discarding unnecessary items to a complete transformation of the uniform; the latter was especially prevalent in North America to accommodate the unique conditions of forest warfare.

It is sometimes believed that these modifications were copied from the American settlers or provincial troops; but while some such copying did occur, as important a model for imitation seems to have been the dress used by gentlemen in Europe for field sports. There are great similarities between the cut-down light infantry uniform and jockey-style caps and contemporary pictures portraying civilian huntsmen and their outdoor servants. Documentary evidence supports this; when Ensign Jeremy Lister of the 10th departed for America in 1771 he took with him a civilian blue greatcoat and two hats, one regimental and one 'round', and the instructions for light infantry uniform in America actually referred to caps being 'made like the old velvet caps in England'. Obviously, much of the modified campaign uniform was based upon the practicalities of the hunting field which would be familiar to almost all officers.

The formation of light infantry had considerable relevance to the modification of uniforms on campaign, though at this period light troops were an *ad hoc* formation and owed at least as much to the Austrian and Hungarian tradition of light infantry as to influences from the American frontier. Although some units maintained a light company (e.g. the 4th had one in Guadeloupe, and the 1st Bn., 1st Foot had one in 1763, but not later), a more usual practice was to create light battalions or companies by extracting suitable men from a number of corps. This was not restricted to America: at the siege of Havana in 1762 a light infantry corps was formed by taking a detachment from each of the 18 regiments present. (A similar practice was to form an élite battalion from grenadier companies, e.g. the

Louisbourg Grenadiers which fought at Quebec, drawn from the 22nd, 40th and 45th).

The Marquess of Granby appears to have instituted one campaign variation among his troops in Germany; he believed that the shoulderbelt was unnecessarily fatiguing for active service, and so cartridge boxes were carried at the front of the waistbelt, presumably on an additional strap over the top of the swordbelt, similar to the pouches of grenadiers, which appears in a Morier painting which may depict the 39th.

Much evidence of modification is apparent for the campaigns in America. A typical uniform is shown by Copley's portrait of Capt. George Scott of the 40th, c.1758: coat skirts and lace removed and a black jockey cap with upturned peak, the whole reminiscent of a huntsman's dress in England.

Viscount Howe was one of the most practical commanders in America, and made his 55th Foot a model for the army: he forbade the use of scarlet, even wearing a regimental red coat himself; and ordered the removal of coat skirts, the shortening and darkening of musket barrels, the adoption of leggings and the cutting of hair short. Hats were cut down to produce caps or 'round hats' with brims only some 2½ in. broad (what Cuthbertson styled 'snug little caps'). Personal equipment was reduced to a minimum. As one wrote, perhaps in jest: 'You would laugh to see the droll figure we all cut... You would not distinguish us from common Ploughmen'⁽¹⁰⁾.

Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, 'native' American frontier dress does not seem to have been the main inspiration; comparisons made at the time with Croats or Pandours — notoriously the best European light infantry of the era — would seem to be more accurate than with American settlers, many of whom were themselves recent immigrants and not yet fully adapted to frontier conditions.

Typical modifications for light infantry were specified by Amherst and confirmed by Wolfe in May 1759: the sleeves of the coat to be put on the



Opposite:

Reconstructions of light infantry-style modifications used in North America. (A) Typical hunting clothes which probably formed the basis of campaign modifications, including a double-breasted 'frock' caped cloak, and jockey-style cap. (B) Jockey caps, including one (left) from a Stubbs depiction of a groom. (C) Cut-down hat and uniform from Benjamin West's picture (see accompanying detail in colour) of Gen. Johnson saving a French officer. (D) Light infantry caps made from cut-down tricorns, with (right) added neck flap. (E) Reconstruction of a light infantryman in cut-down clothing and equipment suitable for service in the wilderness, as described under Amherst's and Wolfe's orders in the body of the text. (F) Light infantry jacket with short sleeves and added breast pockets, and (below) a canvas protective 'kilt' as worn by seamen, labourers, and American woodsmen. (G) Possible reconstruction of waistcoats. (H) Canadian caps, and suggested reconstructions of infantry forage caps. (Gerry Embleton)

Top left:

Grenadiers of the 1st to 3rd Foot Guards, painted by David Morier, c.1751. Note the differences in coat lacing between the three regiments; the picker and wire brush attached to the end of the shoulder belt (1st and 2nd Regts.) or behind the buckle (3rd Regt.); and the corporal's shoulder knot worn by the 3rd Guardsman. (Windsor Castle, Royal Library; © 1990 Her Majesty the Queen)

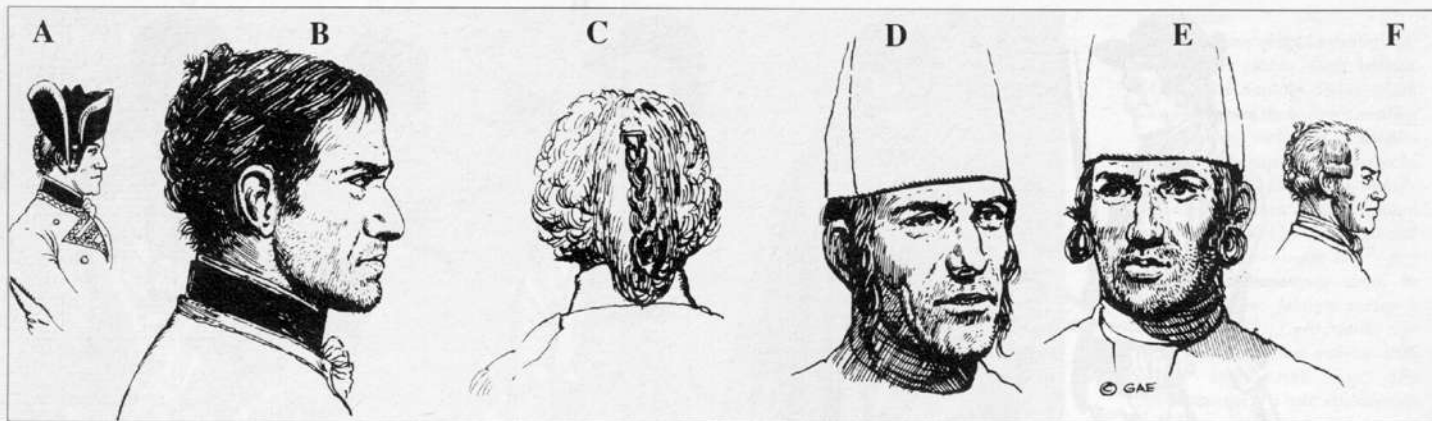


Bottom left:

Grenadiers of the 4th to 6th Regiments of Foot; David Morier, c.1751. This depicts the coat fastened across, leaving only the tops of the facing-coloured lapels visible. Note the distinctive badges on the mitre caps, and the different patterns of basket hilts on the swords. Morier can hardly have painted all his figures from life, however, and such small details may not necessarily be unquestioned. (Windsor Castle, Royal Library; © 1990 Her Majesty the Queen)

waistcoat, with the coat forming a sleeveless 'shell' worn over the top, with wings added like those worn by grenadiers but fuller and reaching half-way down the arm; lace to be removed but lapels retained, and two leather pockets added almost at breast height for ball and flints, with a red cloth flap on the inside to prevent the contents falling out. Knapsacks were carried high between the shoulders with web straps, the





Typical hairstyles. Left to right: (A) from a Morier painting of c.1763 preserved at Wilton House, perhaps depicting the 39th, and showing the angle at which the fashionably small tricorn was worn; (B) reconstruction of this style; (C) after Gilray and others, c.1793, but clearly similar to the style of 30 years before; (D) and (E) from Morier pictures of the 36th and 37th, c.1751, which may represent a common way of wearing the side hair when not 'dressed' for parade, or alternatively perhaps singular styles worn by the grenadiers of these two regiments; (F) after Morier, c.1751. (Gerry Embleton)

cartouche box under the left arm, a powder horn on a narrow web strap at the right, and a cloth-covered canteen at the back. Leggings with leather straps under the foot were worn; a tomahawk in a case was carried like a sword between coat and waistcoat; the hat was made into a cap 'like the old velvet caps in England', with a flap and button, and black cloth added to fasten under the chin. Fusils were carried initially, with no bayonets; but in July 1759 bayonets were re-issued, and apparently the old musket came back into service.

Sir Jeffrey Amherst noted in 1762: '... you know my opinion of men being in their waistcoats for active service. A blanket rolled up is not an incumbrance, is all they want, and two or three days' provisions ready dress'd is a necessary precaution' (11). The practice of carrying provisions in a haversack rolled in a blanket-bandolier seems to have been common.

John Knox of the 43rd makes a number of comments on the costume worn in North America in 1757-60, particularly legwear and footwear adapted to conditions of terrain and climate. Icy conditions underfoot were remedied by the use of

'creepers', small iron plates which buckled onto the foot like a spur, with four $\frac{2}{3}$ in. spikes on the underside to provide grip; others wore coarse stockings over their shoes, with a reinforced sole of frieze or other woollen cloth. Similar coarse fabric was used for Indian-style leggings, of which Knox provides an excellent description (adopted by the 43rd in December 1758): a long, narrow tube sewn on the outside with a 4 to 6 in. selvage, fitted to the leg, with the flap or selvage wrapped over and secured by a garter of the same colour under the knee and above the ankle. An addition to this 'native' style was made by attaching a tongue to the ankle, to cover the top of the foot like a gaiter, with a strap under the instep secured by a button. Knox thought them 'clumsy and not at all military; yet I confess they are highly necessary in North America'. Knox describes snowshoes made in 'racket' shape, of hickory or similar wood, with a rounded front, the hickory hoop tied at the rear with twine, and strung with plaited cat-gut or similar material. Size varied with the user, but the general dimensions were between 27 and 36 in. long by 14 to 16 in. broad.

Units destined for tropical climates often had their coats lined with linen (apparently sometimes brown, explaining references to brown turnbacks), and wore linen breeches and linen or 'thread' hose. Knox mentions long linen trousers; and mosquito-nets of crepe or green gauze, sewn to the hat and hanging loose at front and back, with a draw-string at the bottom to pull it tight around the neck and thus exclude completely the 'musketa'.

Knox also mentions the greatcoat or 'watch-coat', which saw wider use in America than in Europe, given the severity of campaigning in winter. Units stationed in small detachments for long periods, Knox comments, often lost their military appearance by wearing 'ranging party coloured clothing'. In November 1757 he compared one party with the 'droll and grotesque' appearance of Hungarian or Croatian irregulars, from the length of their beards and raggedness of their 'party-coloured' clothing, brown or blue watchcoats buckled around the waist with a cartouche box strap, and threadbare uniforms, appearing more like a 'sand-digger or hod-carrier'. In March 1758 Knox noted that brown greatcoats almost caused an English party to be fired upon by their own people, their being indistinguishable from the enemy in such uniform. Cuthbertson noted the utility of watchcoats made to resemble 'Huzzar-cloaks', extending to below the calf, very wide and full, with a large cape which could cover the head in bad weather.

The deterioration of uniforms on campaign was such that in November 1759 Knox remarks upon the issue from captured stores of French uniform coats and waistcoats, 'coarse hats with copper laces', powder horns and 'moggosans' (mocassins).

INVALIDS AND INDEPENDENT COMPANIES

A number of the regiments formed during the Seven Years' War were created by the 'regimenting' of Invalid or Independent Companies. The

Invalids wore what was sometimes styled the 'Hospital' uniform (i.e. Royal Hospital, Chelsea): red with blue facings and no lace. The uniform of Independent Companies is less easy to define, as a number of variations are recorded. In May 1730 it was ordered that the lace was to be removed from their uniforms, and the facings, which had been blue, were henceforth to be 'popinger green'; most uniforms appear with green facings in successive lists (and these were undoubtedly worn in North America in the mid-1750s). Blue facings are recorded at a later date, with yellow buttons and no lace; but the most common pattern during the Seven Years' War seems to have been red, with red facings and lining, white buttons, and no lace.

To be continued: Part 2 will list known regimental distinctions, and illustrate officers' uniforms. **MI**

Footnotes

- (1) See *The 38th Foot: A Line Regiment 1769-1772*, H.C.B. Cook, in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, Vol. XLVI pp. 91-96 (1968)
- (2) See *Order Book of the 12th Foot in Germany, 1761*, ed. Rev. P. Sumner, JSAHR XXXVII (1949) pp. 153-54
- (3) See *Origin and Services of the Coldstream Guards*, D. MacKinnon, London 1833, pp. 345, 360
- (4) See *The Morier Paintings at Wilton*, Rev. P. Sumner, JSAHR XIX (1940), p. 63
- (5) See *Grenadiers of the Coldstream Guards, 1747*, Rev. P. Sumner, JSAHR XXVII (1949), p. 143
- (6) See JSAHR XXII (1944) p. 304
- (7) See *General Hawley's 'Chaos'*, ed. Rev. P. Sumner, JSAHR XXVI (1948), p. 93
- (8) See *Order Books of the Brigade of Guards in Germany 1761-62*, ed. Rev. P. Sumner, JSAHR XXVI (1948), p. 116
- (9) *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1749
- (10) *Boston Newsletter*, 6 July 1758
- (11) See *The Loss and Recapture of St. John's, Newfoundland, in 1762*, Maj. E. W. H. Fyers, JSAHR XI (1932) pp. 189-90

The Jacobite Army at Culloden, 1746 (1)



STUART REID Paintings by ANGUS McBRIDE

The Jacobite army which fought at Culloden on 16 April 1746 was a complex organisation, largely run on conventional military lines and predominantly equipped with muskets and bayonets rather than the broadswords, axes and pitchforks so beloved of Victorian novelists and modern film-makers.

The army drew its recruits from three sources. First there were those men who joined the rebellion because they had been told to. Mainly found in the highland regiments, they were effectively feudal or tribal levies — and not always unwilling ones, although there is ample evidence of force being employed.

The second source of recruits was essentially a revival of the old fencible system which had provided soldiers and militiamen in times past. Using the existing tax records, the Jacobite administration in the north-east demanded that landowners should supply an able-bodied man, suitably

clothed and accoutred, for every £100 Scots of valued rent, or £5 sterling in lieu. In real terms this amounted to a tax of 5s. in the pound, and while allegations were rife that the rebels were more interested in the money than in the recruits a considerable proportion of men serving in units from the area were raised by this means. In a confidential letter to one of his officers, Lord Lewis Gordon wrote in December 1745: 'Although I have got some volunteers, I assure you that at least two thirds of the men I have raised is by the stipulation at first agreed on, and all those that have not as yet sent their quotas, have been wrote to in very strong terms' (1)

Not all landowners were willing to send their tenants off into the rebellion, but rather than defy the Jacobites and incur the threatened penalties they took to hiring men, effectively mercenaries, on the open market. A list compiled for the government of men who had joined the rebels in the Banff area shows that, officers aside, about a third of them were 'hired out by the county'. Interestingly it appears that a higher than usual proportion of these mercenaries may afterwards have been released from jail or left sitting quietly at home.

Thirdly there were the volunteers, a far from negligible group who not only provided the officer corps but also did most of the fighting. (After the fight at Inverurie even the Jacobites admitted that most of their men had hidden amongst bushes and in ditches until it became obvious that they were on the winning side.) Their reasons for volunteering were doubtless many and varied, family ties, bankruptcy and

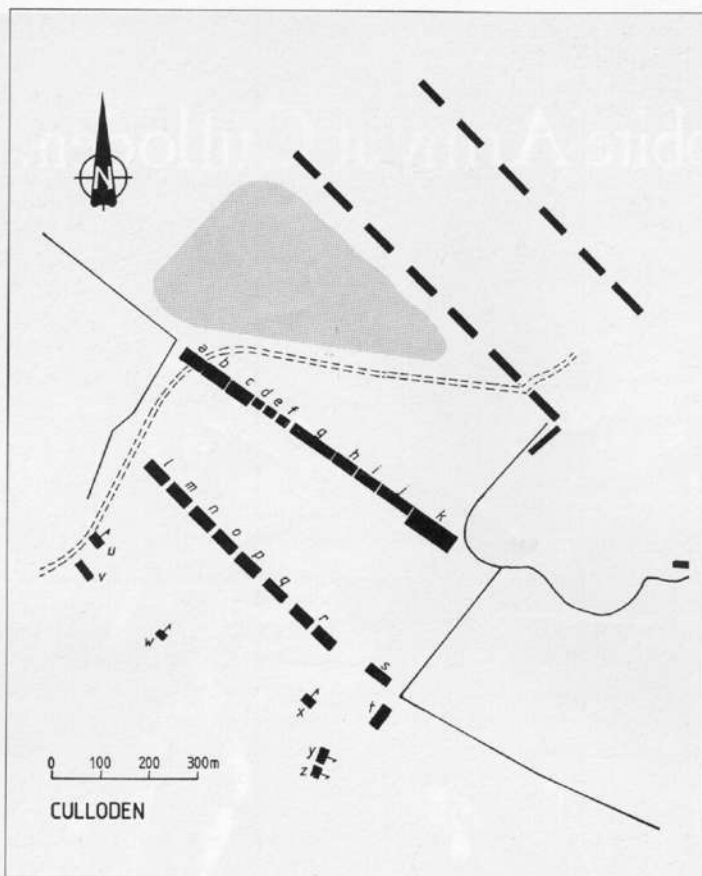
Perhaps the most famous of all published images of the '45, David Morier's 'Incident in the Rebellion' needs to be regarded with some care. Apparently depicting the stand of Barrell's Regiment (the 4th of Foot) at Culloden, this painting ought to provide us with the best possible picture of Jacobite infantry; and indeed, legend has it that the artist used rebel prisoners as models. However, although clearly identified as Barrell's by their cap badges, the grenadiers have a herring-bone pattern of lace on their sleeves; yet both the 1742 Clothing Book and Morier's own grenadier painting of c.1748 show a ladder pattern for this regiment. Moreover the tartans are reasonably well executed, and superior to his treatment of the plaid and hose of the grenadier of the 42nd, c.1748. This, and the fact that none of the rebels is bearded, strongly suggests that the picture may actually have been painted at some time in the 1750s; and that the 'highlanders' he used as models were more than likely the other half of the 4th's grenadier company.

With the exception of the man wearing trews, left foreground, none are wearing suits of matching tartans. One man wears a dark blue belted plaid and another a similar kilt; otherwise the tartans are predominantly red — as indeed are by far the greater number of those worn in formal portraits of the period. (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen)

even sheer irresponsibility all being common factors — though the Jacobites initially achieved considerable popularity amongst farmers by promising to abolish the hated Malt Tax, and played upon nationalist sentiment to good effect.

Also found amongst the volunteers were a substantial body of deserters from the British Army. Some were members of the 43rd (Black Watch) and 64th (Loudon's) Highlanders, largely drawn to the Jacobite army by family ties; but the majority appear to have been former prisoners of war, chiefly taken at Prestonpans, who thought service with the rebels might be more congenial than rotting in prison.

All of these recruits, willing or otherwise, were enlisted into regiments which were at least notionally organised on conventional lines, even to the extent in at least two cases (Lord Ogilvie's and Glengarry's Regiments) of maintaining grenadier companies (2). A besetting problem prior to Culloden had been an overabundance of officers and a proliferation of small units. To a considerable extent this was a result of granting commissions too freely to gratify the vanity of all manner of people; but at the same time it was perhaps inevitable that in attempting to raise an army from scratch the net had to be cast widely. Some highland units in particular were over-officered to a ridiculous degree; but by April 1746 the Jacobite leaders seem to have been getting on top of the problem by amalgamating the



smaller units or simply absorbing them into larger formations.

A good example of this process is Lord Kilmarnock's Foot Guards. Originally a cavalry regiment, they were dismounted in February 1746 and their horses turned over to Fitzjames's regiment. They were then brought up to strength by recruiting in the Buchan area of Aberdeenshire,

by taking on other *soi disant* cavalrymen, and by absorbing a small and badly disciplined company raised in Aberdeenshire some time before by Colonel James Crichton of Auchengoul. There may at the end of the day have been something over 200 Foot Guards at Culloden.

This process does not appear to have reduced the numbers of officers, however, or

Sketch map of the Jacobite army at Culloden. Despite, or perhaps because of the great interest which the battle holds for historians, no two maps of the field agree as to the dispositions of the Jacobite units. This appears to be due principally to two factors. In the first place, the army tried to draw up in an order of battle set out the day before; but although broadly conforming to it, some units inevitably went astray. Stonywood's Battalion and the Hussars, for example, should have gone on the left, but it is clear from survivors' accounts that they were actually on the right, as shown here.

The second problem appears to have arisen during the battle itself, and has been compounded over the years by the failure of most historians to take account of the frontages actually occupied by the various regiments.

It would seem that the Jacobites were initially drawn up as shown here, with a front rank entirely comprised of highland regiments. When this line was ordered to charge, however, it was quickly discovered that the ground north of the road slanting across the moor was extremely boggy. The MacIntoshes (g) therefore veered to the right, funneling the whole right wing into the narrow gap between the road and a turf wall. At the same time the highlanders on the left were slowed down by the boggy ground, and in consequence a large gap opened in the centre of the line. The Jacobites then attempted to plug this gap by bringing forward the Duke of Perth's (l), John Gordon of Glenbucket's (m) and Col. John Roy Stuart's (q) Regiments from the second line. Although a number of plans of the battlefield show these units standing in the front line at the outset, it will be obvious from this reconstruction that until the gap opened up there was no room in the front line for these units.

Front line: (a) MacDonalds of Glengarry (b) MacDonalds of Keppoch (c) MacDonalds of Clanranald (d) Chisholms of Strathglas (e) McLachlans & McLeans (f) Monaltrie's Battalion (g) MacIntoshes (h) Frasers (i) Stewarts of Appin (j) Camerons (k) Atholl Brigade — three battalions in column.

Second line: (l) Duke of Perth's Regiment (m) Glenbucket's Regiment (n) Irish Piquets (o) Ecossais Royal (p) Kilmarnock's Foot Guards (q) John Roy Stuart's Regiment (r) Lord Ogilvie's Regiment — two battalions in square (s) Stonywood's Battalion (t) Gordon of Avochie's Battalion.

Others: (u) Lord Strathallan's Perthshire Horse (v) Sir Alexander Bannerman's Regiment (w) Escort Troop, Fitzjames's Horse (x) Bagot's Hussars (y) Fitzjames's Horse (z) Lord Elcho's Troop of Lifeguards.

Lowland dress: based upon another of Burt's sketches, this time depicting an Inverness fisherman, this figure shows the main features of the clothing worn by most people in the Scottish lowlands. In its basic outlines it has not altered very much from the clothing discovered with a late 17th century corpse at Quintfall Hill (see 'MI' No. 19 p.30). The coat still has rather short skirts and is cut in a style which would be favoured by Scots regiments in the British Army — and copied by units serving in North America — a decade later. Unlike the Quintfall Hill suit, however, the legs of the breeches are fairly narrow. Quite a high proportion of the men serving in some Jacobite units appear to have been fishermen, including a company raised in Aberdeenshire by Crichton of Auchengoul.



removed the anomaly of colonels commanding companies. The officers themselves varied considerably as to the experience and expertise which they could bring to the job. In highland units military rank

was all too often simply a reflection of their social rank, and most of them were probably not up to the job, although brave enough. The surviving Jacobite orderly books are full of complaints of routine orders being disregarded or neglected, and generally speaking the picture which emerges is of officers who were willing enough to lead their men into battle but not to carry out the more mundane tasks. This was perhaps not an unusual state of affairs in a mid-18th century army; but without a body of experienced senior NCOs to look after training and administration it was potentially disastrous.

Most officers serving in lowland regiments were similarly inexperienced, but many were at least willing to heed advice, and training was taken more seriously. Lord Ogilvie's Regiment not only had a

Below right:

'Rebellion Rewarded': a satirical print emphasising Jacobite links with the Catholic church (and by implication, the Devil) which illustrates a number of interesting features. While most of the Jacobites crowding through the gateway are in highland dress, seemingly based on Bowles' mutineer prints, the Pretender and his attendant wear short coats and breeches with plaids thrown over their shoulders. The group on the right wear 'English' clothing with tartan sashes; and may be intended to represent men of the ill-fated Manchester Regiment. In a contemporary history of the rebellion Andrew Henderson declared that they were dressed in 'blue cloathes, Hangers, a Plaid Sash and white Cockade'. Trial evidence relating to the regiment's officers only mentions the tartan sash and white cockade; but it is possible that the rank and file may have been issued French military coats. Taken prisoner at Carlisle, the regiment did not fight at Culloden.

The standard displayed at the gate is also interesting; although it frequently appeared in satirical prints the Scots Magazine made a point of commenting on the fact that no such standard was taken at Culloden. It seems to have been a clever distortion of the standard raised at Glenfinnan at the outset of the rebellion. A reconstruction of it as a heraldic standard was used by Alexander Korda in his film 'Bonnie Prince Charlie'; although prepared by the Lord Lyon it is unconvincing, and the original was most likely a red banner with a white central panel, here distorted into a coffin. According to the English Jacobite John Daniel this standard was accidentally broken while the army was at Derby; No. 3 on Wentworth's list (given in full in Part 2 of this article) was 'a large plain white colours, said to be the standard'. (National Galleries of Scotland)



Franco-Irish regular officer attached to 'discipline' them and act as what would now be called an operations officer, but also included among its officers a Chelsea Out-Pensioner named James Webster who acted as a drill instructor and taught the men the firelock exercise⁽³⁾. One of the witnesses against Farquharson of Monaltrie later testified that a few days before Culloden he saw both his regiment and the Appin Regiment drawn into a field to go through their exercises. Unfortunately he was more concerned with what Farquharson was wearing than with what they were actually doing; but the fact that a highland regiment was actually drilling at all is interesting.

CLOTHING

The appeal to nationalist sentiment was emphasised by the conscious adoption, even by lowland units, of 'highland clothes' as a uniform: belted plaids, or sometimes trews, and short tartan jackets, with blue bonnets. The officers and probably a good many of the volunteers certainly wore some form of tartan clothing, and

equipped themselves with broadswords and all the other appointments thought appropriate to a highland gentleman; but difficulties were often encountered in obtaining sufficient supplies of tartan material for their men. James Moir of Stonywood, for one, was forever enquiring after supplies of plaids and other tartan material for his Aberdeen regiment. Consequently many had only their arms and white cockades to mark them as Jacobite soldiers.

Most depositions relating to individual rebels record the details which were considered important by the Crown: how they were armed, whether or not they wore a white cockade, and whether they wore highland clothes. Otherwise their clothing is not generally described in any great detail. The following descriptions, however, culled from the *Aberdeen Journal* and relating to deserters from the 89th Highlanders during the Seven Years' War, give a pretty good idea of the sort of clothing which would have been worn by those men not kitted out as 'highlanders':

A useful collection of rear views of highland dress from Edward Burt's Letters from the North, sketched at some time in the 1720s or early 1730s. Three of the four wear tartan trews beneath their outer clothing, a combination frequently mentioned in inclement weather; given the bad weather at the time of Culloden quite a number of the highlanders there are likely to have been so clad. The third figure from the left, to judge by the arrangement of his plaid, is wearing either a kilt or a rather long tartan coat over his trews. The original plate appears to have become reversed, since the plaid was usually cast over the left shoulder in order to keep the sword-arm free.

'John Beverley, born in the parish of Old Aberdeen and lately servant to James Christie, horse-hirer in Aberdeen... had on when he deserted a drab coloured coat with metal buttons.

'John Gordon, born in the parish of Belhelvie, a tailor... had on when he deserted a dark blue coat with a velvet neck, scarlet belt, black plush breeches, large silver buckles on his shoes.

'Alexander McIntosh... an inhabitant of Marnoch... a labouring servant... had on when he deserted a short grey coat and waistcoat and brownish breeches.

'William Young, 33, a tinker... wearing a red frieze coat, an old tartan vest and philabeg, and worsted stockings.

'George Smith, 19, labourer in the parish of Cairney... had on when he deserted a grey coat and tartan waistcoat, grey breeches and stockings.

'John Archibald, 40, shoemaker; native of the parish of Insh... went off... in a short brown coat and old green waistcoat, blue breeches with

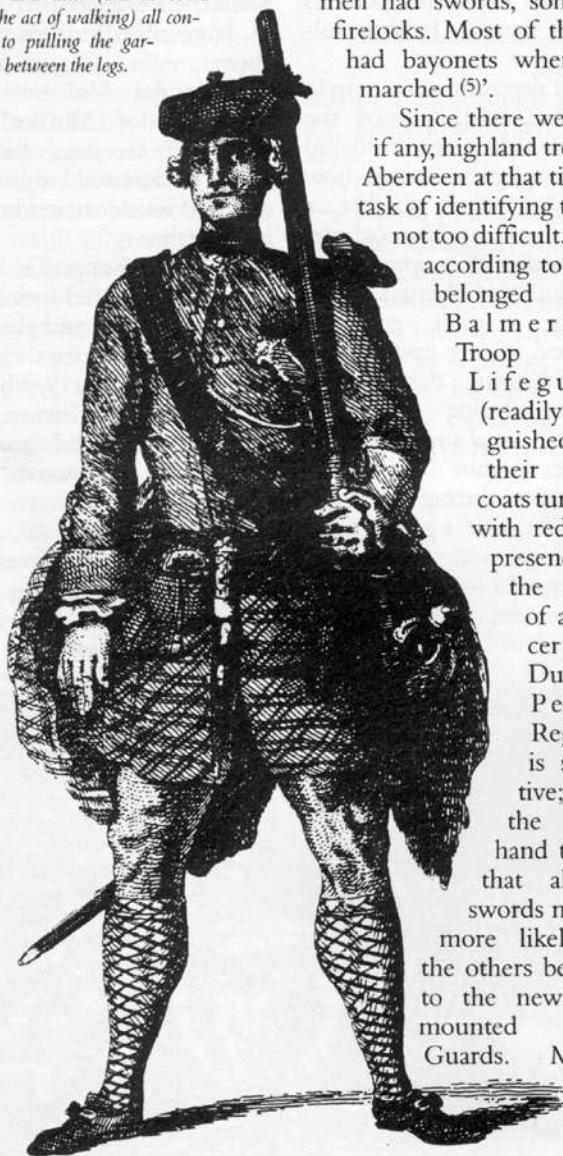


black buttons, and black striped stockings with a broad saddle girth round his middle.'

All these men were recruited in the same area as Lord Lewis Gordon's Jacobite regiment (ironically, John Beverley may even be the same Aberdeen man who was transported after Culloden) and reflect the same social distribution (4).

In the early stages of the campaign there are references to the 'redcoats' of Colonel John Roy Stuart's and the Duke of Perth's Regiments —

Fairly typical mid-18th century treatment of highland dress in a rather crude illustration from Maj. George Grant's New Highland Military Discipline, apparently owing much to Bowles' 1743 mutineer prints. It nevertheless gives a good impression of the general appearance of the highland soldier, most notably in the obvious disarray of the belted plaid. Any sort of exercise will result in the skirts of the plaid being pulled up by the weight of the upper part, while the sporran, bayonet and dirk (and to some extent the act of walking) all contribute to pulling the garment in between the legs.



The proper Position of a Soldier.

British Army deserters still wearing their regimentals — but by Culloden most of them would presumably have found less conspicuous clothing. One, though, Ninian Dunbar, was afterwards hanged in the scarlet coat with yellow facings which he had stolen from Major Lockhard of Cholmondeley's Regiment at Falkirk in January.

WEAPONS

Even to many contemporaries it appeared that the Jacobites not only wore highland clothes but carried highland weapons. Once again, the officers at least and many volunteers had broadswords, and this description by James Logie of a pay parade in Aberdeen in February might be taken as evidence that it was also true of the rank and file: 'The men drawn up were foot — all but some of Lord Balmerino's Horse... All men had swords, some had firelocks. Most of the foot had bayonets when they marched (5)'.

Since there were few, if any, highland troops in Aberdeen at that time the task of identifying them is not too difficult. Some, according to Logie, belonged to Balmerino's Troop of Lifeguards (readily distinguished by their blue coats turned up with red). The presence at the muster of an officer of the Duke of Perth's Regiment is suggestive; but on the other hand the fact that all had swords makes it more likely that the others belonged to the newly dismounted Foot Guards. Muskets were certainly

at first in short supply in this unit, for two Aberdeen men recruited by Crichton of Auchengoul at this time afterwards said that they had not been issued with muskets until they reached Inverness.

Estimates of rebel casualties at Culloden vary, but something in the region of 1,500 may be about right. This is entirely consistent with the figure of 2,320 firelocks afterwards recovered from the field, given that some will have been thrown away by men who afterwards escaped and others will have been surrendered by the French regulars. Against this, however, the astonishingly low total of only 190 broadswords were found, some of which must have been carried by officers and by cavalrymen. This clearly indicates that even allowing for broken weapons and others acquired as souvenirs (actually forbidden by Cumberland), something like only one in seven

Jacobite soldiers had broadswords, which in turn would suggest that their use was very largely confined to officers and volunteers. Glenbucket's and perhaps some other units were reported to have no swords at all; so it is possible that in highland regiments the proportion of men armed with broadswords may have been only one in four, enough for the front rank at least, as suggested by General Hawley.

Some of the muskets carried by the Jacobites were probably captured from Sir John Cope's army at Prestonpans, but these evidently accounted for only a small proportion. Three days after Culloden the victorious Duke of Cumberland ordered: 'French or Spanish firelocks or bayonets and cartridge boxes to be delivered by the Train to Ensign Stewart of Lascelles' Regt.; he is to distribute them to the prisoners of our army released here.' This strongly

Angus McBride's reconstructions opposite:

(1) John Gordon of Avochie's Strathbogie Battalion

This volunteer is dressed in accordance with the instructions issued by Lord Lewis Gordon on 6 December 1745: 'All men are to be well clothed, with short cloathes, plaid, new shoes and three pair of hose and accoutred with shoulder ball gun, pistols and sword.' He can probably be taken as representing the archetypal Jacobite infantryman, wearing highland dress as a distinctive uniform. Since the battalion was raised on the fringes of the highlands the provision of sufficient quantities of highland clothing appears to have presented few problems, especially for the volunteers. Eyewitness descriptions suggest that the call for pistols and sword may have a little optimistic, and that most of the Strathbogie men were armed only with muskets and bayonets, in this case the ubiquitous French model 1717.

(2) James Moir of Stonywood's Aberdeen Battalion

Similar instructions were given to Stonywood: 'You'll advert what men you receive be sufficientlie furnished with plaids, short cloathes, hose, shoes and by all means swords with what other arms can be got.' In point of fact most of the depositions relating to Stonywood's men suggest that while some of the officers and the volunteers equipped themselves with highland dress and weapons, most of the rank and file were distinguished only by their white cockades. Wearing his own clothes, this soldier has a French musket, bayonet and accoutrements.

(3) Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie's Mar Battalion

Although largely raised in the highlands of Deeside or 'Mar', not everyone in this battalion wore highland dress. When

James Logie saw them march into Aberdeen in February 1746 they 'were dressed in highland clothes mostly' — so presumably some of them were in breeches, including their (mounted) commanding officer. Our figure is based on descriptions of Colonel Farquharson himself; he was taken prisoner at Culloden, and Logie laid a deposition to the effect that he had seen him in Aberdeen 'with a white cockade and a broadsword — not in highland dress'. At his trial another witness, Alan Stewart, testified that although he was wearing a short coat and tartan trews while he was in Inverness, 'Some days before the battle of Culloden I remember to have seen said Colonel Francis Farquharson with a big blue coat on at the head of his regiment.'

A white linen colour was taken from Farquharson of Monaltrie's Battalion at Culloden; and other battalions also appear to have had plain white colours. A labourer named Robert Taylor from Old Meldrum was afterwards said to have carried 'French colours' (i.e. white) with a recruiting party there; this presumably belonged to James Crichton of Auchengoul's company, since a substantial number of his men came from Old Meldrum. In addition, a John Daunie who left an account of the fight at Inverurie in December 1745 mentions a regiment with white colours, which can be identified as Moir of Stonywood's battalion. Neither of these other battalions lost its colours at Culloden; both retired in good order covering the retreat of the right wing; and one of Stonywood's officers, John Martin, later told his interrogators that he had seen him tear his colours from the staff when the army was disbanded at Ruthven Barracks.

A selection of colours will be described and illustrated in Part 2 of this article.



Sir Stuart Thriepland of Fingask, in a portrait which he had painted by William Delacour to depict an incident in his escape after Culloden. The tartans are basically green with red, brown and green overstripes. As usual, the plaid is of a different sett to the other garments. The cut of the coat is noteworthy; and we have here a good illustration of the tendency of the plaid to ruck up between the legs, so that he looks almost as if he is wearing shorts. Thriepland was actually a doctor. There appears to be no record of what regiment he belonged to, though his brother served in Strathallan's Horse. His clothing, however, can be taken as typical of that worn by company officers in both highland and lowland regiments, though he most probably added a firelock to the ensemble. (In the collection of Mr. & Mrs. M. Murray Thriepland)



released here.' This strongly suggests that Land Pattern muskets had been found, if at all, in negligible quantities. Large numbers of French muskets and bayonets (most of them probably the model 1717) had earlier been supplied to the rebels, 1,500-1,600 stand of arms being landed at Montrose in October alone. It seems likely, therefore, that in the lowland regiments at least only French muskets, or the very similar Spanish ones (also of .69 calibre) landed at Peterhead in November, were issued, in order to simplify the supply of ammunition.

There are hints that the Jacobites may have had trouble in finding enough ammunition of any description. The orderly book of Lord Ogilvie's Regiment shows that during the march into England the normal ammunition scale was twelve rounds per man, but there were constant injunctions against wasting ammunition. These orders were clearly quite ineffective; and matters seem to have come to a head shortly before Culloden when Lord John Drummond, the commander of the French forces, complained that foraging soldiers were coming straggling up to headquarters and shooting cocks and hens outside his door!

On 20 March the rebels had executed a successful raid on a government outpost at Keith in Banffshire; but Captain Robert Stewart of John Roy Stuart's Regiment afterwards related that when he inspected the

detachment of 50 men placed under his command beforehand he found their arms and ammunition 'in a very indifferent order [and] was obliged to dispense the most of all his own powder and shot (who kept himself well provided on all occasions)' (5). Prudent though the gallant captain may have been, his personal store of

Portrait of David, Lord Ogilvy, after Alan Ramsay. Painted in 1745, perhaps while the Jacobites still occupied Edinburgh, Ogilvy wears a simple red and black sett, now known as 'Rob Roy' tartan. It is tempting to assume that he wore this while colonel of the Forfarshire Regiment; the wearing of highland dress was certainly de rigueur and while in Edinburgh Ogilvy ordered his officers to provide themselves with targes. Nevertheless the jacket in fact bears a close resemblance to one worn by other sitters painted by Ramsay, most notably Francis Charteris, Earl of Wemyss. Lord Ogilvy brought his regiment safely away from Culloden, and subsequently escaped to the Continent; he later commanded a Scots regiment in French service. (In a private Scottish collection)





Detail from portrait of the Earl of Wemyss by Alan Ramsay. Though closely related to Lord Elcho, Francis Charteris took no part in the rising; his portrait is included as possibly the finest depiction of a gentleman wearing highland dress, and representative of many senior Jacobite officers. As mentioned above, there is a strong suspicion that he is painted in the same suit as worn by Lord Ogilvy in Ramsay's portrait of that officer in 1745. The suit is red with a black check and red velvet collar and cuffs, with red garters; the bonnet is royal blue, the scabbard and baldric black leather. (In the collection of the Earl of Wemyss and March)

ammunition cannot have gone very far amongst 50 men, and they may have gone into battle with only a couple of rounds apiece. Whether the rebels at Culloden were so ill-provided does not appear.

As to the other equipment issued to the rebel soldiers, there are references in the orderly books to the necessity of ensuring that canteens were filled with water before each day's march; and the Rev. John Bisset noted that when Lord Lewis Gordon's Regiment set off from Aberdeen to fight McLeod's men at Inverurie 'they had on their wallets and pocks, in a posture of marching'. The wallets were presumably the square linen or canvas haversacks issued in the British Army for bread rations, and will have been ideally suited for carrying the oatmeal which served as the staple diet of the Jacobite army, and was latterly given out in lieu of pay. The 'pocks' or packs will have been the leather or canvas 'sausage' bags issued to all soldiers at this period for carrying spare clothing and plunder. **MI**

To be continued

Notes

- (1) Spalding Club Miscellany Vol. 1; Stonywood Correspondence p.410.
- (2) Commanded by Capts. Charles Kinloch and James McKenzie, Highland Papers (Spalding Club) Vol. II, p.437. Muster Roll of Prince Charles Edward Stuart's Army (Livingstone, Aikman and Hart) p.149.
- (3) List of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion, p.192.
- (4) Aberdeen Journal, 4 Dec. 1759-25 March 1760. Judging by the description of William Young the prohibition on the wearing of highland dress was not being observed.
- (5) Highland Papers (Spalding Club) Vol. II, p.342.



Flags of the Boer Forces, 1899-1902

ERWIN A. SCHMIDL
Paintings by PETER DENNIS

As a postscript to his recent articles on Boer uniforms and equipment in *MI* Nos. 23 and 26, the Austrian historian Dr. Erwin Schmidl comments on flags and colours used by the Boers during the war of 1899-1902; and adds some further notes to his previ-

Flags and colours are not items readily associated with guerrilla warfare; but then, it would be wrong to characterise the Second Anglo-Boer War as a guerrilla war only. In the first phase the operations of the Boer Republican and British forces rather resembled 18th century campaigns, with sieges and manoeuvres instead of pitched battles. Then followed the 'conventional' phase of the war; and it was only after the

occupation of the Boer capitals and a large part of the country by British forces that the remaining Boers turned to small scale guerrilla-type warfare, from mid-1900 onwards.

The Transvaal *Vierkleur* and the orange-striped flag of the Free State were often used to mark friendly positions for the gunners, or as morale-boosters, especially in the first months of the war. Although most Boers were sensible enough not to use colours or standards to mark

trenches or gun emplacements in the field, flags and colours are prominently displayed in many photographs. Sometimes flags also served the function of unit colours, complete with suitable inscriptions or decorations (1). Two examples are illustrated here in colour: that of the Barberton Commando, and a more elaborate one carried by Johannesburg German volunteers. On 20 October 1899 at the battle of Elandsplaagte in Natal a former German Hussar cadet by the name of Von Römer proudly carried the Transvaal *Vierkleur* into action (2). Some foreigners also used their own national flags; a photograph of American volunteers shows them holding a small 'stars and stripes' (3).

Boers and foreigners alike soon found out that even in this 'last of the gentlemen's wars' colours and standards had become as obsolete as cavalry charges. While a number of

Gen. Kock (sitting, white beard) with officers of Col. Adolf Schiel's German volunteers from Johannesburg, photographed near Elandsplaagte, October 1899. Capt. Count Zeppelin, in khaki jacket with stars of rank and carrying a sabre, holds the German corps' Vierkleur (heavily retouched in this photograph, from Völlentin, Burenkrieg, Vol. 1, p. 53)



Peter Dennis's colour reconstructions opposite show:

(1) The Orange Free State, established in 1854, used the Dutch tri-colour in the canton; the orange colour is in reference to the Dutch royal house, after whom the Orange River and the state were named. The stripes recall, intentionally or not, the pioneer republic established on the other side of the Atlantic.

(2) The South African Republic's *Vierkleur* dated to the establishment of the Transvaal Republic in 1852 and resembled other flags used by the Voortrekkers. It combined the red, white and blue of the Netherlands (or rather, of the Dutch East India Company) flag with a green stripe to symbolize freedom.

(3) A typical unit colour: the *Vierkleur* used by the Johannesburg German Volunteer Corps in 1899. The shield is in the post-1870 German ('small German') colours of red, white and black; the green oak-leaves are typical decoration of this period. (From contemporary photographs)

(4) A 'combination colour' based on the *Vierkleur*; this example was captured by Capt. G. F. Mappin at Elandsplaagte on 20 October 1899, and is now displayed at the National Museum of Military History in Saxonwold, Johannesburg.

(5) Another 'combination colour' with the yellow stripe in a different position. This flag was used by Gen. J. D. Opperman; the inscription translates as 'With God For Liberty'. It is currently displayed in the Military Museum at Fort Skanskop, Pretoria.

(6) A speculative reconstruction of a 'combination colour' following the pattern worn as a patch by Mrs. J. J. van der Merve in Bethunie camp — see text. It is a logical design, but there is no primary evidence for its use as a flag.

(7) The flag used by the Barberton Commando: a *Vierkleur* with the appropriate inscription, probably in gold, it is approximately 1.2m high by at least 2m wide.

(8) A Boer officer wearing a typical pseudo-uniform and holding a medium-sized *Vierkleur* flag; he is drawn from contemporary photographs, and the flag survives at Queen's Fort Military Museum in Bloemfontein. The blue puggaree with white polka-dots and the black ostrich feather were associated with Danie Theron's elite scouting unit, Theron's *Verkenner-Korps*; 'TVK' badges were also known.

(9) Signaller, Transvaal Staatsartillerie; note signaller's patch on left sleeve of light khaki field dress. In 1897 six sets of signal flags were obtained for the unit's signals section. Each contained four different flags: solid red, solid white, white with red centre, and red with white centre. This painting also corrects a small detail of the jacket cut — see author's note in text.



these colours were produced by patriotic ladies for their commandos, the Boers in the field soon found them a nuisance, and stowed them away in a wagon, or even discarded them (4).

There were also examples of 'combination colours', sometimes called the *Vyfkleur*, combining the flags of the two republics. Generally the Transvaal *Vierkleur* served as the basis for these combinations, a yellow or orange stripe being added to the green-red-white-blue design of the *Vierkleur*. This approach was not without a certain logic since the Transvaal was the dominant partner, both politically and militarily, in the coalition. There is, however, an interesting example of a small patch preserved in the War Museum of the Boer Republics at Bloemfontein, which was

Gen. Botha's flag again, this time carried by his wife in a characteristic Amazon' outfit. (Wilson, After Pretoria, 1/91)

Boers posing for the photographer near the Tugela in late 1899, grouped around Gen. Louis Botha, architect of the Boer victories at Colenso and Spion Kop and future Transvaal commander-in-chief, beneath his personal command flag, shown from reverse here. The inscription in the Vierkleur's white stripe reads 'GOD BESCHERM HET RECHT' ('May God Protect Our Right') and that in the green section is the general's name, 'GEN. L. BOTHA'. (From Vällentin, 1/264)

reputedly worn by a patriotic inmate of the Bethunie concentration camp. This patch, about three inches in size, shows the Orange Free State flag with a green diagonal overstripe. It is not known whether a flag of this design existed, but it appears to be quite possible (5). It might be added here that before the present flag of the South African Republic (then, Union) was adopted in 1927 some of the proposed designs for the new flag — e.g. a *Vierkleur* with yellow replacing the white stripe — resembled the combination colours of the Boer War.

Other and more mundane flags were also used for various tasks. This being, in theory, a

gentlemen's war, much use was made by both sides of white flags signalling surrender — often creating ugly incidents leading to accusations of abuse. Ambulances and Red Cross installations were, of course, usually marked with the red cross flag as well as the *Vierkleur* and, for foreign ambulances, the appropriate national flag, e.g. red-white-black in the case of the German ambulance. Finally, red and white signalling flags were often used to transmit messages.

Notes:

- (1) For examples of pre-war unit colours see the photograph of the Johannesburg Volunteer Corps (disbanded in 1898) in *The Boer War* by P.J. Haythornthwaite (Uniforms Illustrated No. 19, Arms & Armour Press, 1989), No. 16; and the drawing of the flag used by the Krugersdorp Volunteer Corps in *Military Flags of the World 1618-1900* by T. Wise & G. Rosignoli (Blandford Press, 1977), No. 380.
- (2) Richard Runck, *Aus dem Freiheitskampf der Buren* (Zweibrücken, 1902), 8.
- (3) Haythornthwaite, *ibid.*, No. 129.
- (4) Franko Seiner comments on this point in his memoirs.
- (5) According to the inscription this item, inv. No. 103, was worn by a Mrs. J.J. van der Merve 'to defy the English guards'.

Author's note:

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all readers who have written to me since publication of the two articles on Boer uniforms and dress, pointing out several surviving examples of which I had not previously been aware. I was able to incorporate some of this information in Part 2 of the articles. However, Peter Dennis's otherwise excellent paintings contained a small error regarding the cut of the Transvaal *Staatsartillerie* khaki field jacket ('MI' No. 26, p. 26, fig. 1): this should have two small slits at the back rather than

the large vents shown, and is corrected here as fig. 9.

In the same article, fig. 3, the *Staatsartillerie* warrant officer is shown wearing not the dress tunic (as erroneously stated in the caption) but the undress patrol jacket. The dress tunic had six, not five rows of black braid, and yellow buttons instead of the black olivets, as shown in the photographs on pp. 22 and 24.

Also on p. 22, second column, line 21, 'black frogging colour' should read 'blue facing colour' — it was the blue facings, not the black frogging, which were to be changed to red.

In a recent edition of the *South African Military History Journal* (Vol. 8, No. 3, June 1990) J. Robert Williams shed some light on the uniforms worn by the Transvaal Fortress Artillery. The dress uniforms resembled the late-model *Staatsartillerie* type, but had flaming grenade badges on the collar in addition to the officers' stars of rank (these being silver, instead of gilt as for the field artillery). For undress both officers and other ranks wore lighter coloured (mid-blue?) tunics with breast pockets and black collars, as shown in the photograph in 'MI' No. 26, p.24 bottom, where I misidentified the uniform as a non-regulation variation. From photographic evidence it would seem that this uniform was only rarely worn in the field.

As with the previous articles, my thanks go to the staffs of the museums and archives in various countries which I visited and consulted in the course of my studies. In particular I would like to thank Lt. Bryn Owen of the fascinating Welch Regiment Museum in Cardiff, who made it possible for me to inspect what appears to be the sole surviving example of a Transvaal *Staatsartillerie* gunner's field uniform.

MI

A small flag marking the position of a Boer mountain gun near Mafeking, April 1900. (Contemporary postcard from the Trimmel Collection, courtesy Mrs. Ulrich, Vienna)



REVIEWS

'The Making of a Para' by Rory Bridson; Sidgwick & Jackson; 192pp; illus. throughout (most colour); p/bk; £11.99

There is nothing quite like first hand knowledge for giving a book on a specialist subject an edge over similar publications. Rory Bridson's excellent book certainly has that edge, due to his having served his apprenticeship in the regiment, as well as having received a great deal of co-operation from 'The Depot'. The descriptions of the sometimes tortuous ordeal of 'P Company' brought back very vivid memories; combined with the no-holds-barred photographs, they served to make my better half realise what I had to go through to become a member of the 'Maroon Machine'.

Although one of the youngest regiments in the British Army, the Paras have an impressive list of battle-honours; and the chapter on the regiment at war gives a good potted history, from the original formation, through the various post-war skirmishes, to the Falklands. Even the bomb at Warrenpoint in 1987 — a touchy subject — is handled very objectively. The chapter on the 'airborne brotherhood' covers a reasonable cross-section of the airborne soldiers of other armies, and draws interesting parallels; many of them have modelled more than just the 'cherry beret' on the British experience.

The motto of the regiment is 'Utrunque Paratus' — 'Ready for Anything'; and that readiness is forged initially during the training process. This process of turning a recruit (or 'crow', as he is derisively known) into a fully fledged 'Tom' takes up the majority of the book, and is to me the most interesting aspect. There are many personal quotes, from officers, 'P Company' NCOs, and plain 'crows'; and the book gives a real insight into what is really involved in the making of an airborne soldier, and why they have to be that much fitter, and think that much more of themselves, than 'ordinary' soldiers.

If you have a son or brother who is interested in joining the regiment I would strongly recommend this book. He'll either decide on the spot that it's not for him; or he'll realise that all the blood, sweat and tears involved are very necessary to produce that boundless pride which comes with the award of, first, your red beret, and later your 'wings' — and with them your real membership of the airborne brotherhood. As Field Marshal Montgomery is quoted as saying in the preface: 'They are, in fact, men apart. Every man an emperor.'

JD

'General-At-Sea: Robert Blake and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution in Naval Warfare' by Michael Baumber; John Murray; 284pp; 14 illus.; 18 maps and plans; £17.95

This is an excellent book and is highly recommended. Michael Baumber's work supercedes earlier biographies of Robert Blake, of which the best had been J.R. Powell's, and provides a readable and informative account of his subject's impact on the English navy.

Blake's rank, 'General-at-Sea', was one of the titles used in the 17th century for a naval commander, the equivalent of a modern admiral. It is particularly apt, however, as Blake first made a reputation for himself as a garrison commander at the sieges of Lyme Regis and Taunton during the Civil War. As the leaders of the New Model Army took control of England after the Civil War, political considerations led to the appointment of Blake and two other soldiers, Richard Deane and Edward Popham, to command the Navy. It is a tribute to Blake's ability that with so little practical experience when he began his naval career he became the most successful English naval commander of the 17th century.

Michael Baumber's work shows that although Blake was never a key political figure, his leadership brought a new sense of dedication and professionalism to the English navy and restored its European reputation to the level achieved in the Elizabethan era. This had a significant effect on an international community shocked by the execution of Charles I, as the possession of a powerful navy, combined with the political will to use it aggressively, was a key diplomatic advantage for the English government and a major factor in its international acceptance.

In addition to a detailed and readable account of Blake's campaigns and career, Baumber also traces the technical advantages of the English navy in terms of ship design, and its concentration on the use of artillery. This provides the element of a 'Revolution in Naval Warfare' which forms the sub-title of this book. This is certainly an area which has been ignored in recent years with concentration on the 'revolution' in military tactical doctrines; and although it is only briefly covered in this work, Baumber's chapter 'Reputation and Reality' provides an interesting and challenging interpretation of the technical advantages enjoyed by the English navy. In summary, an accessible biography of a key figure during the Inter-Regnum which also provides detailed accounts of naval campaigns and an introduction to the technical development of the English navy in this period. A very useful book for anyone with an interest in the Civil Wars and/or the development of the navy.

KABR

GALLERY

Zbigniew 'Gaston' Ziemski

MARTIN WINDROW Paintings by KEVIN LYLES

Each year, on the nearest Saturday to 30 April, the members of the Foreign Legion Association of Great Britain parade at the statue of Marshal Foch outside Victoria Station in London to honour their dead comrades in the ceremony of *Camerone*. The rank of bemedalled veterans represents service in the French Foreign Legion's



campaigns from pre-war French North Africa to Beirut and Chad in the 1980s. At the moment of silence, the *Amicale's* flag is dipped in salute by a short, broad, rock-solid figure whose chest is adorned with nearly two dozen decorations awarded by Poland, France and Great Britain. Major Zbigniew Ziemski, who does not even live in Britain, honours the FLAGB by serving as its *porte-drapeau* in this and other ceremonies throughout the year. His career recalls the military odyssey of tens of thousands of soldiers whose homelands passed, during and after the Second World War, into a darkness which has only begun to lift in the past two years.

POLAND 1939

Zbigniew Ziemski was born in March 1915 at Sawoja in the area of Poland that was then still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The following year his father was killed, in Austrian uniform, resisting one of the last offensives mounted by Czarist Russia's armies before their collapse. Zbigniew was raised in the years following his coun-

try's victorious fight for independent nationhood near the Vistula River in the region known as 'Little Poland', in a community whose national pride went hand in hand with a bitter hatred of Russia, whether Czarist or Soviet.

In 1933 he completed his education; but his ambition to become a regular officer in the Polish army was initially thwarted — on the pretext that his teeth were too bad for him to be able to subsist on army biscuit... After a year's training he passed onto the reserve list in the rank of 'aspirant'; and after a further training period in 1936 he was commissioned as a second-lieutenant on the

reserve, specialising in physical training. One of the recruits who passed through his hands in 1938-39 was one Karol Wojtyła, more widely known today as Pope John Paul II.

On 31 August 1939 Ziemski was mobilised as a platoon commander in the 17th Infantry Regiment, but he had no chance to draw full equipment, as by the time he reported the regimental depot had already been razed. As the Wehrmacht slashed into Poland on three main axes Ziemski found himself at the head of a partly-equipped and heterogeneous group of men, fighting a series of delaying actions as they fell back towards Lwow under repeated air attack. On 17 September the Red Army put the secret clauses of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact into treacherous effect, and moved across Poland's eastern borders. The next day the government crossed into Rumania, ordering surviving elements of the army to make their way to France via neutral territory. Although some units fought on desperately until 5 October, Poland was doomed.

The 150 or so survivors of the 17th Infantry were captured by Soviet troops. Officers, easily recognisable by the full dress uniforms which they had had no chance to exchange, were immediately separated. Ziemski, fearing the worst, threw away his tunic and tore up his papers; under his uniform he was wearing sports fatigues, and he successfully passed himself off as a simple soldier — thus avoiding the massacres at Katyn and elsewhere. Four hours after his capture he seized the chance to escape while his Tartar cavalry guards were raping some of his countrywomen. He headed south, only to be captured by German troops. They turned out to be Austrians; and his story of his father's death in the Austrian army earned him lax treatment until, four days later, he again escaped.

During October, hiding at his mother's house, he heard that a Polish army was indeed being reconstituted in France.

Undercover interlude

Ziemski managed to obtain false papers; and in December

1939 — on the very night that the Germans began rounding up all reserve officers — he fled, heading across the border into neutral Hungary through deep snow. He was interned; but jumped from a train in Budapest, and made his way to the Polish consulate. He was promised a visa for France — but Polish intelligence officers asked him to carry out a special mission for them first. With a small group, and carrying a huge sum in mixed currencies, he returned to Poland by way of Slovakia reaching contacts in the nascent Polish resistance to hand it over, and to pass on the location of arms caches hidden by escaping soldiers. Ziemski's return to Budapest via the Tatra Mountains was difficult and dangerous, but at last he was given his visa for France, and made the journey safely via Yugoslavia and Italy.

FRANCE 1940: BRITAIN 1940-44

Sent to Grandville near the Channel coast in early June 1940, Ziemski's unit, training in the anti-tank role, became caught up in another disastrous defeat. After various adventures they received orders to head for the south-west coast; and at the end of June the remaining men managed to get passage from the Gironde estuary aboard a British collier, which landed them at Liverpool.

The Free Polish troops were concentrated in Scotland; and here, in July 1940, men of the former 4th Infantry Division were formed into the 'Canadian Rifle Brigade', intended as the cadre for a unit to recruit and train Polish volunteers in that country. The plan was shortlived, and the unit became the 4th Cadre Rifle Brigade, based in coastal defence positions near Leven on Largo Bay. During the autumn and winter volunteers dispersed on various courses intended to fit the unit for behind-the-lines operations; and in January the CO, Col. Stanislaw Sosabowski, sent his first group of volunteers for parachute training at Ringway, Manchester. The Polish parachute brigade was officially formed after successful exer-

Left: *Djidjelli, Algeria, 1956: Sergeant-Chef Ziemski of the 2^e Régiment Étranger de Parachutistes in a studio portrait. Pinned to his left shoulder-board is the badge of the 1^{er} BEP, his former unit. (Courtesy Maj. Z. Ziemski, as are all other photographs)*

used by its first 800 members (among them 2nd Lt. Ziemski) in front of Polish C-in-C Gen. Sikorski on 23 September 1941.

'Market Garden'

All the 2,200 men who eventually made up the 1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade dreamed of an airborne assault to liberate their occupied homeland; but the difficulties of such an operation, and its slim chances of success in the absence of wholehearted co-operation by Stalin, eventually led to its regretful abandonment. In March 1944 the brigade passed under British command by mutual agreement, and was transferred to the south of England in preparation for the liberation of NW Europe. After D-Day drops were planned at Rambouillet in August, on the Pas de Calais, and in Belgium; but each time the rapidly developing situation at the front led to the mission being aborted at a late stage. Desperate to fight, the Polish paratroopers got their chance in the ill-fated Operation 'Market Garden' in September 1944. A first-lieutenant since January 1943, Ziemski was commanding the 3rd Co., 1st Bn. of the brigade when Sosabowski's paratroopers jumped over Holland.

The first Poles landed on 21 September south of the Rhine. Their supply gliders landed on the north bank, however; and, under heavy attack and with no way to cross the river to join the beleaguered British 1st Airborne Division at Arnhem, the brigade was soon encircled. Lt. Ziemski's battalion, held up by bad weather, eventually dropped on 23 September, 460 strong, further south near the American paratroopers at Nijmegen. They helped hold open a narrow corridor for the withdrawal of the rest of the brigade from the Arnhem area. In the days that followed the Poles held several important airfields and bridges, losing 500 men in all. Ziemski nearly became one of them; gorged on green apples, he was obliged to make a run for a hedgerow to drop his trousers — only to see the apple tree under which he had dug his foxhole disappear in a huge explosion. In early

October the brigade was withdrawn to Ostende, and shipped back to the UK; and Ziemski was promoted captain for his conduct in Holland.

The brigade was rebuilt and in fact almost doubled in strength; but although operations were planned in Norway, VE-Day intervened. Until 1947 the brigade served in occupied Germany; then, like the rest of the Free Polish forces, it was disbanded. Some of Ziemski's comrades returned to a Poland now under Communist rule; he never heard of them again. At length the Polish government in exile accepted the tragic reality, and gave Polish soldiers permission to enlist in foreign armies while awaiting better days for their homeland.

THE LEGION: INDOCHINA, 1951-55

Heartbroken, Capt. Ziemski spent much of 1948 in France, working on a farm with an old comrade and teaching himself French. Since the French were fighting Communists in Indochina, he enlisted in the Foreign Legion in June 1948, aged 33, at Bas-Fort St. Nicholas in Marseille. He was shipped to Algeria; after training at Mascara and volunteer parachute training at Philippeville, he found himself in November 1949 at Sétif serving in the 3^e Bataillon Étranger de Parachutistes, in the platoon commanded by an officer who later became legendary: Lt. Roger Faulques.

Ziemski had kept his past to himself; but Faulques found out that he had a former parachute captain serving in his ranks, and sent Légionnaire Ziemski (now known as 'Gaston', since Zbigniew was considered unpronounceable) for corporal's training. He had hardly put up his two green chevrons when he was sent on the sergeant's course. The 3^e BEP acted as a depot unit for the 1^{er} and 2^e BEPs fighting in Indochina; despite several attempts to get on drafts for the Far East Ziemski was thought to be far too valuable as an instructor, and was repeatedly frustrated.

His chance came in March 1951. The 1^{er} BEP had been

wiped out in the disaster of RC-4; and Sgt. Ziemski arrived in mid-March as one of some 400 replacements, mostly from 3^e BEP, who reformed the 1^{er} BEP under Capt. 'Petit Pierre' Darmuzai, based at Hanoi/Bach Mai airfield. Between March and November the battalion was on almost continual operations in the Delta as Gen. de Lattre vigorously defended the heartland of French power in North Vietnam. Ziemski was closely involved with another feature of the 'de Lattre plan' — the formation of a company of local volunteers within his battalion. Under Lt. Allaire he worked hard to build the 1^{er} CIPLE (1st Indochinese Parachute Company, Foreign Legion), which in the 1^{er} BEP formed the 4th Company.

In summer 1951 Ziemski fought on the Day River, the southern defence of the Delta. In November 1951-January 1952 he took part in the massive Hoa Binh operation, jumping into Cho Ben, the preliminary objective of Operation 'Tulipe'. He at first led a platoon, and later became the company *adjudant* (company sergeant major); the company had 39 white and 150 Vietnamese soldiers, and Ziemski had to give orders in a mixture of French, German, Russian and Vietnamese. His battalion was constantly in action during 1952 in the southern Delta area.

In November the 1^{er} BEP was very heavily engaged in two major operations. On 9 November 1952 it was one of three battalions which jumped over the Viet Minh depot complex around Phu Doan, doing much damage before road extraction after a rendezvous with co-ordinated mobile columns. As soon as this Operation 'Marion' was over the battalion was flown into the threatened enclave of Na San, deep in the Thai Highlands south of the Black River. They arrived on 20 November; marched 20km to bring in retreating post garrisons; marched back over the night of the 21st/22nd; and on the 22nd took over the eastern strong-points of the camp. Major enemy bombardment and

massed infantry attacks by the Viet Minh 312 Division followed on the night of the 23rd/24th; and the battle raged almost without pause until the night of 1/2 December. In this final 'human wave' attack the Viets left 600 dead on the wire; and Sgt. Ziemski was gravely wounded by a mortar burst which ripped open his helmet and his skull. His wound was inoperable in the casualty clearing station, and even in Hanoi the surgeons dared not intervene too vigorously.

He was sent back to France, where he very slowly recovered, more or less by a process of benign neglect. During 1953 *Sergent-chef* Ziemski returned to the 3^e BEP at Sétif, Algeria, and later to Djidjelli as an instructor on the corporal's course. In the crisis of early 1954 he volunteered to go back to the Far East, but as the junior of four NCOs in Lt. de Stabenrath's draft he was left behind. (The others were dropped into Dien Bien Phu, and all were lost.) The agony of Dien Bien Phu sent the whole 3^e BEP eastwards eventually; but the news of its fall found them still at Singapore. On arrival, the 3^e BEP took the title and traditions of the 2^e BEP, wiped out with its sister battalion in the lost fortress. Between June 1954 and September 1955 the unit carried out operations around Saigon, before finally shipping home.

WAR IN ALGERIA, 1955-62

In November 1955 the 2^e Régiment Étranger de Parachutistes was created at Philippeville. Ziemski served in Capt. Marce's 2nd Company there, and later at Batna; and late in 1956 in the Tebessa sector near the Tunisian frontier, seeing frequent exhausting operations against the ALN units forcing the frontier. In hard fighting he replaced his wounded Lt. Montagnon in command of a platoon. The next year took the regiment, one of the most effective in the mobile reserve forces, back to the *Constantinois* in the north; then south again to the grim mountain terrain of the Aurès and Nementchas. In

In retirement Maj Ziemski is closely involved with organisations of former paratroopers and legionnaires; here, in 1983, he is seen attending an international gathering in Israel.



July the 'powers that be' decided that at 42 Ziemski was no longer fit for parachuting (and thus for jump pay) and posted him, with the rank of adjutant, to command the regimental rest centre... This episode did not last long, and in 1958 he returned to active operations as company warrant officer of the Command & Services Company. Under Lt. Col. Lefort, the regiment was now in the Guelma sector; and from 1958 Ziemski served as tactical quartermaster with the operational headquarters.

One morning in late April 1961 Ziemski awoke in the Philippeville barracks to find the camp almost deserted. Under the popular second-in-command, Capt. Cabirol, much of the 2^e REP had taken the road to Algiers to support the rising of the 1^{er} REP against France's planned abandonment of Algeria. Cabirol sent a request

Sergeant-chief Ziemski presents the banner of his company of the 2^e REP during a ceremony in 1956.

for a support convoy; the NCOs conferred, and decided to obey. The CO, Lt. Col. Darmuzai, attempted unsuccessfully to stop the convoy.

The *putsch* collapsed in days, almost without bloodshed. Darmuzai was replaced by Lt. Col. Chenel, who quickly took the regiment out on operations. His calm leadership at this agonising time saved the unit from the 1^{er} REP's fate of disbandment (which Darm-

uzai had recommended...). In March 1962 the war ended; the 2^e REP stayed in various Algerian garrisons until 1968.

In January 1964 Adjutant-chief Ziemski was demobilised at the Legion's new Aubagne depot; through service contacts he obtained a job at Le Bourget airfield (where légionnaires in transit were always convinced that he was on some 'special duty'). He finally retired in 1980; but threw himself into an energetic involvement with the affairs of ex-légionnaires and ex-paratroopers which he pursues to this day, travelling all over the world. Married, and with French nationality, he maintains close contacts with other former Polish paratroopers in Britain; and also with the British 'old comrades' association of the Foreign Legion, whose flag-bearer he consented to become. In November 1990 the Polish authorities promoted him to the Polish rank of major in retirement; and that December he travelled to Rome, renewing his acquaintance with ex-Private Karol Wojtyła of the 17th Infantry... The present writer is honoured by Major Ziemski's acquaintance, and grateful for permission to use personal photographs in this brief account of his extraordinary career. **MI**

Acknowledgements

The generous assistance of the subject of this article, of Z. R. Gasowski, K. Barbarski and Denis Lassus is acknowledged, as is the published research of Eric Deroin in *RAIDS* magazine No. 44.

Back cover:

Kevin Lyles's reconstructions show Zbigniew Ziemski as (top) Lt., 1st Battalion, 1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade, Scotland, spring 1943. The first beret of the Free Polish paratroopers was this dove-grey ('poster-grey') type, with a cloth band, authorised by C-in-C's Order No. 2, Section 12, of 28 April 1942. Officers' Polish eagle national badges and rank insignia were in silver wire, the latter placed under the former by an order of February 1943. (The beret was replaced by the more familiar dark grey type with black leather rim by an order of 26 June 1943.) The British 1940 pattern Baidress in khaki serge bears national shoulder titles, in silver on red for officers; and on the collar points the brigade's grey kite-shaped patch, piped yellow at the top edges, bearing a parachute, emboldered in silver for officers. (The colour of the patches matched that of the beret, and changed after 26 June 1943.) The dash khaki smock or equipment cover is of the pattern peculiar to the Poles, and differs from the British 'jacket, paratrooper's, 1942'. Note outward slanting patch pockets on chest, with pointed flaps, and zipped thigh pockets, and off-centre line of front zip fastener, ending in a pointed extension of the hem on the right thigh. This smock was in use from 1941. The webbing equipment is standard British 1937 pattern, a mapcase is slung on his left side, and he carries a Thompson SMG with forward pistol-grip and compensator. He carries the Airborne Forces training helmet, in khaki linen over heavy sorbo-rubber with the Polish eagle pencilled in yellow gas-detection paint. (See also 'MI' Nos. 12 & 13, '1st Polish Independent Parachute Brigade 1941-47' by K. Barbarski.)

(Below) Sergeant Ziemski, 1^{er} CIPLE, 1^{er} Bataillon Étranger de Parachutistes; Tonkin, summer 1952. The helmet is the standard American M1 with liner; the M1C paratrooper model was not widely issued to French units in Indochina. The 'smock' is the jacket of the US Marine Corps second pattern two-piece camouflage uniform of 1944, one of several items of US camouflage clothing delivered in large numbers to the French Union forces. It is worn with French khaki drill shorts; French M1950 'airborne troop' type webbing belt and suspenders; and French M1917 leather ankle boots. On the suspenders, and in a locally made-up webbing strap cradle on the belt, are US M26 hand grenades. Slung on the belt are six locally-made leather pouches holding magazines for the US M1A1 folding-stock carbine. Though invisible in the photograph on which we base this painting, it is likely that a US M1910 or French M1950 water bottle and carrier would be slung on the back of the belt, with perhaps a type M18 first field dressing pouch. (See also 'MI' No. 27, 'Dern. Bataillon Étranger de Parachutistes' by Denis Lassus.)



Zbigniew Ziemski

Lieutenant, 1st Polish
Independent Parachute Bde.;
Scotland, 1943



Sergeant, 1^{er} Battalion Étranger
de Parachutistes; Tonkin, 1952

